

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN OR SECOND LANGUAGE
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ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING



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English Language Teaching

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Editor W. R. LEE

EDITORIAL

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING began its career, soon after the last war, by appearing seven or eight times annually, at that time in a green cover. Six years later it had settled down to being a quarterly, and has remained so ever since, up to the end of its nineteenth volume last July. From this October onwards there will be three and not four issues a year, but each will be double the length of its immediate predecessors. The difference is obvious in the weight and bulk of the present issue.

Now that more space is available, a large backlog of accepted manuscripts will be able to see the light of day comparatively soon. It will be possible, also, to publish a broader range of contributions. 'Question Box' will have more pages, and 'Books and Periodicals Noted' will be less often postponed.

No changes are intended in the broad character of the journal, except in the direction of further clarity and simplicity of style. It is to be hoped that a bigger proportion of our contributors will be dealing with practical classroom activities and the teaching of young pupils. More attention must be paid to those aspects of language-teaching which are shared with the teaching of other subjects and skills.

Lastly, there is much in common between the teaching of English as a foreign language and the teaching of other languages to foreigners, and this fact should be increasingly reflected in our subject-matter too. *E.L.T.* will not cease, however, to be first and foremost a source of knowledge and ideas for teachers of *English* as a foreign language and this whether or not English is their mother tongue.

English as a Foreign Language over the World Today

BRUCE PATTISON

A WIDELY-ADVERTISED gramophone course for learning French claims that those who use it will be able to learn the French they speak in France. It is a powerful appeal. The reason for learning French is primarily to get on with the French. Though French is a language of wide currency much used in international communication, it has always been intimately associated with France.

English is much less closely related to one particular location. Its name is a reminder of its original home, and the United Kingdom is still one of the most important English-speaking communities, but 60 per cent of the people who speak it as a first language live in North America, and considerable areas on other continents and in the southern hemisphere are occupied by English-speaking communities.

This wide dispersion of the English speech-community gives the language an advantage over the other half-dozen languages of wide currency that have emerged with the vast increase in communication during the past two or three generations. Another reason why it is commonly chosen for international communication is that it operates in many communities whose inhabitants have other first languages. Large parts of Asia and Africa have been under British rule for varying periods during the past century and a half. In them administration and higher education have been in English. The new countries that have succeeded the colonial regions are finding it difficult to dispense with English even for internal purposes, and they naturally continue to use it for external relations. When there are several English-using territories in an area they tend to establish English as an auxiliary language of the whole area. The chain of such territories in south-east Asia and beyond—Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Malaya, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand—has attracted other countries, so that Indonesia has replaced Dutch by English (partly, it is true, for political reasons); English is now the first foreign language in Thailand, and the successor states of the former French Indo-China are moving in the same direction.

A language usually gains wide currency because its speakers move about more than their neighbours. They are often traders. But prestige plays a part too. The spread of Greek colonies around the shores of the Mediterranean had to be followed by the

conquests of Alexander before Greek became general throughout the eastern Mediterranean and over much of Asia Minor. The Greeks had no inhibitions about advertising the superiority of their own civilization, and their advertising was very successful. The Romans, who took political control of the greater part of the area and made Latin an almost universal language of administration, had very great respect for Greek culture and tried to absorb it. Indeed, after the division of the Empire the eastern half once more became virtually Greek.

Political influence counts a great deal but is not the only, or even always the most important, source of prestige. The importance of French in Africa today is a relic of the French colonial empire, and the strength of French in the Middle East has weakened as French political activity there has declined. But the prestige of French in the past was not entirely derived from the political importance of France. The Russian nobility of the old régime habitually spoke French among themselves because in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was the language both of culture and of enlightenment.

It is significant of changes in values that, insofar as the prestige of English is not due to the economic and political influence of the English-speaking communities, it is based largely on their technological skill. The United States is the model of the affluent society. All the less developed parts of the world want to improve their standards of living by learning from the society that has won most general benefit from technology. The Americans are not unwilling to respond to this desire. English has become the chief language of technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries. To many of them it is the most convenient means of entry, for some of them are in the former British sphere of influence and a few in the American. But the English-speaking role in this resistance is so great that personnel from other countries join in most easily through English.

Access to scientific and technical information is perhaps as powerful a motive as the increasing use of English in international communication for the growing preference for English as the first foreign language to be learned in the more advanced countries. The number of scientific and technical journals published in English far exceeds that produced in any other language. In advanced countries, however, there is no special problem about the learning of English. The Scandinavians, the Dutch, and the West Germans, who want to extend their trade and are capable of giving valuable technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries, operate successfully with English. West Europeans have plenty of opportunities of visiting the U.K. and meeting British and American people, and they have no difficulty in acquiring the kind

of English they need for their various purposes. They often do this in spite of, rather than through, their countries' educational systems, but the detachment of their educational systems from the needs of those it is supposed to be educating causes no serious friction in countries which are wealthy enough not to have to husband their resources. European languages provide sufficiently for a complete education, and foreign languages are a luxury, except for practical purposes, which educationalists despise in comparison with the status symbols euphemistically termed cultural objectives. Courses are largely philological or literary: those who merely want to use a foreign language must make their own arrangements to gain mere facility in them; and the proliferation of commercial language schools shows that they do so. Those who are capable of making the appropriate statements about the language and about its literature qualify in universities to return to the secondary schools to prepare new generations of students to enter universities. The self-contained circulating system does nobody any harm, because the real education of students can be satisfactorily carried out in their first language.

The position is quite different in countries where a world language is not only desirable for external relations but has essential functions in the countries themselves. In these cases the world language, though not spoken by the majority of the population, is not really a foreign language but what I shall call a second language, though it may in fact be a third or later language for many who learn it. Most of the underdeveloped countries are in this situation, and English is by far the most important second language in the world as a whole.

When these countries gain independence they find they have to continue to use English for a variety of reasons. Often there is no national language on which all can agree. There may still be expatriates in the public services, and advice and aid from the more advanced countries will certainly be required in some form. Education cannot be changed over to local languages, because there are no textbooks, and these languages have never been accustomed to dealing with the notions treated in western education.

A good command of practical English, including spoken English, is necessary at a great variety of levels. Unless the telephone operators and shorthand-typists can quickly and accurately interpret English speech, the processes of administration and business will be slow and unreliable. A satisfactory national standard of speech is not quite sufficient, because there are expatriates involved, and some students will for some time to come have to go to English-speaking countries for advanced training. For the most technical occupations English has to be a

precision instrument, and the more it approximates to that in education the more effective the education will be. The primary function of English in these countries is to train in and apply the skills and techniques necessary for national development. They do not belong to these countries' indigenous traditions and so English is the only possible medium for them at present, until the local languages can gradually adapt themselves to take over from English, if the desire for that persists or emerges.

It was in fact to transmit knowledge of the western world that education in English was first begun in these exotic cultures. The important decision was whether to propagate the view of the world and the resulting systematized knowledge that became general in Europe from the seventeenth century. Once that was decided there was no other possible medium for it than English. The early officials of the East India Company, among whom were a few distinguished scholars, had great respect for the Indian classical languages, and the company's first policy was to support traditional learning. Macaulay's famous minute of 1835 criticized it in terms similar to those Bacon applied to scholastic philosophy: he found it barren in useful knowledge. His attack had been anticipated by Ram Rammohun Roy, who protested to the Governor-General against a decision of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal in 1823 to found a college in Calcutta for Sanskrit studies. 'This seminary,' wrote Rammohun Roy, '(similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India . . . The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it.'¹

The claims of the vernaculars have never been overlooked in British-administered territories. They were strongly advocated in India at the time of Macaulay's minute by Brian Houghton Hodgson and John Wilson, and in Africa education has usually been begun in a local language and the learning of English postponed as long as it could be in the teeth of public opinion. For there has never been any doubt that the demand in all these terri-

¹Kalidas Nag and Debajyoti Burman, *The English Works of Ram Rammohun Roy*, Part IV, p. 106.

tories was for European knowledge, and that the shortest, perhaps the only, means of access to it was felt to be English. Other considerations—such as the advantage of knowing the language of the rulers—played their parts; but the most respectable, and what has proved the most persistent, motive has been admiration for, or envy of, the European way of life with its higher standards of comfort and health.

European science and European techniques and methods of organization, then, have always been the real objectives in learning English as a second language. Yet educational systems have taken little account of this. When the Indian experiment began there was little education anywhere to serve as a model. The only one the pioneers could remember referred to the learning of dead languages, and so English was treated as a dead language. Teaching the rest of the curriculum in English the learners had never been taught went on alongside, but quite detached from, teaching English as a dead language, a language of the printed page, a literary language. Bewilderment was concealed by the memorizing of notes bought in the bazaars. Some passed and more failed examinations, but there was little employment open even to those who passed. There was frustration of individuals but no social need was felt to be unsatisfied.

Independence changed everything. Then development became the aim everywhere, and with it came a demand for trained personnel. Educational systems were incapable of producing them in the required numbers. But educationists are not readily persuaded to hurry their stately pace. In Asia a very natural reaction against the language of the imperialists caused the commencement of English to be delayed and the time spent on it to be reduced. The All India Seminar on the Teaching of English in Secondary Schools held at Nagpur in 1957 tried to make the best of the circumstances by setting as a modest aim 'that, within a period of six years of the high school course, the pupils should be enabled to attain a working knowledge of English, giving them mastery over about 250 basic structures and a vocabulary of 2,500 essential words'. But those responsible for university entrance have tried to keep up standards by demanding in compulsory English the old assortment of Shakespeare's plays, Shelley's odes, and Lamb's essays. Conditions have never been as wildly unrealistic in Africa, which came into education in English later and has not begrudged time spent on learning the language. But even there one is struck by the discrepancy between the examinations in English that have to be cleared before going on to advanced courses and the later objectives of the students and the needs of their countries in terms of trained manpower.

Misconceptions about language and procedures inappropriately

transferred from English-speaking communities have obviously got in the way of helping the people of these new countries to do what needs doing through English. This is nothing new; only it is more serious now, because education services are expanding more rapidly than they can be staffed with competent teachers, and because these services are now looked upon as parts of social and economic development programmes. More is being expected of education just when it is taking an unprecedented strain. A radical reassessment of the function of English in each separate context is necessary.

It must be a genuine reassessment, however, and not merely a reaction against the inadequacies of the past and the present. There is a tendency to look upon language merely as a tool, or at best as a kind of acceptable social behaviour. The rejection of dilettante English, of English detached from any real activity, is healthy. The cry everywhere now is 'We want practical English. We want to be able to get on with other groups through it. We want technical English, the English that will give us access to the know-how of the west and enable us to put our problems and our discoveries before the rest of the world.' And there are answering voices in English-speaking countries that are ready to offer drill in the formulae for various contexts. In this situation there is a danger of acting upon too narrow a view of language. A language is not merely an instrument of social action; it is intimately involved with almost all experiences. The people of the new countries have not only to operate in changing societies; they have to live in them. It is not only a question of learning new techniques and acting out new roles: there are problems of adjustment too. Development has come to mean learning from a different civilization, and it must bring changes in values and standards and attitudes. If education neglects these, the promised land will turn out to be a disappointment when it is reached. We ought to consider not only the response of English to social demand but the contribution it can make to education in the fullest sense.

Whatever the defects of the education in English inaugurated by Macaulay's minute in 1835, it produced results. Political ideas filtered through, as Macaulay hoped they would, to an educated minority that was conscious for the first time of belonging to one nation through the use of English throughout India. A surprisingly large number of Indians became genuinely fond of English literature. The stream of Indian writing in English shows no sign of drying up and some of the contemporary writers are very accomplished. Only a few years ago an Indian at Oxford, Dom Moraes, won the Hawthornden Prize for English poetry. Perhaps even more significant has been the revival of the Indian literatures. Again Macaulay foresaw this. He thought English might have the same

beneficial effect on the Indian languages as Latin and Greek had had on the European languages at the time of the Renaissance. New forms and styles derived from English literature have given vitality to literatures that were decadent when British rule began.

It is possible that English has largely accomplished its mission in the Indian sub-continent. The indigenous languages now provide sufficiently for general education, and the teaching of English should perhaps concentrate on the more practical and technical purposes for which Hindi and the regional languages are not yet equipped. A few will want to study English more fully, but for the majority a restricted English directed to well-defined ends would probably be more profitable and more likely to be effectively mastered than the present vaguer and more ambitious objectives.

Africa is just becoming articulate. Only in the Republic of South Africa and in Nigeria is there as yet any body of writing in English. The problems of the Republic are quite different from those of the rest of Africa. The output from Nigeria is still very small, and perhaps only one novelist has so far been really successful, but what has been produced is interesting and promising. It deals with the major problem of the impact of the Europeans on traditional ways of life. The preferred form is the novel, though Wole Soyinka has made a notable contribution to drama. The realism and objectivity of their work is creditable, since they are so personally involved in the problems they discuss. Achebe does not sentimentalize the Ibo society he depicts in *Things Fall Apart* and is honest enough to show its weaknesses before it began to disintegrate with the intrusion of alien values.

There is, indeed, in West Africa little evidence of nostalgia. People are puzzled by new developments but not inclined to retreat from them. There does seem to be some vague feeling that guidance in coping with the new situations that are arising, in the towns especially, is more likely to be found in the language of the new nation, i.e. in English, than in the traditional language. In the markets one comes across novelettes in English, and the popularity of Marie Corelli in West Africa seems to be due to a willingness to try any English works whose names linger from earlier contacts with Europeans. The African novelists who are taken seriously in English-speaking countries are too difficult for the masses. There is as yet only a very small public for them in their own countries. But there is evidence of an unsatisfied demand from those who have perhaps only primary schooling behind them and whose reading ability is low but who sense that in English they might find some answers to the problems of the changing society in which they live.

This unsatisfied demand and the lack of a reading public for reputable contemporary material are signs of a failure of educa-

tion in Africa. It is dominated by Mr Gradgrind and haunted by examinations. It is not providing the imaginative experience necessary for personal development and social adjustment. Courses are directed to examinations designed for English-speaking young people and not related to African young people.

It is not a question of choosing material produced by Africans or about Africa. As I have said, there is not enough of that which is relevant.

The imagination can be stirred by the exotic and often sees in it the essence of its own problems, clarified by being transposed from immediate reality and so made more universal. Education can use any material, but it must be chosen with the personal development of particular people in mind. Conventional notions of what constitutes 'English Literature' are irrelevant to education, which means taking people as they are and helping them gradually to read more and more deeply better and better material, with the aim not of pushing them through examinations, but of enriching their lives.

The study of English has really very little place in the new countries. What is important is to get people to use it, not only for practical purposes but to make themselves at home in the world they will have to live in, a world changed by contact with Europeans and so in some respects represented better in English than in the local languages.

There will, however, be a few in all these countries who will be so attracted by English that they will want to go further into it at the university. For them the appropriate course is not the Honours course of the U.K. university. African students have demonstrated during the Special Relationship the University of London has had with the new African universities that they can do as well as British students. Now that these new universities are starting to grant their own degrees I hope they will take parity of esteem for granted and have the courage to do something different. The European university course is designed to produce critics and scholars, and there is not yet scope for either in the new countries. What many who take English really want to do is to write, and in fact the University of Ibadan has already proved to be a nursery of Nigerian writers. There is no reason why such an honourable ambition should not be taken into account in planning courses. I am not advocating necessarily courses in creative writing. It would be equally suitable that literary courses should radiate out from forms and styles that are still alive and language courses be less concerned with history and analysis than with the use of language to produce various effects.

The functions of English in any country will depend on the total language situation there and on the social scene. When it is a

second language it will be a language of the country and become a little different from what it is elsewhere. That has already happened less obviously where it is a first language. To some extent it will be creolized in second language countries—i.e. it will be modified by local linguistic habits. But communication among the educated is so good today that we need not fear the disintegration of English into a number of separate languages in the way Latin was creolized into the Romance languages. We shall all be able to share in the enrichment which will result from the adaptation of English to more and more differentiated contexts; just as we have shared in its transatlantic experience. It will also continue to stimulate other languages with which it comes into contact. It is now a world language not only because it is much used internationally but because it is assisting the development of so much of the world. Anyone who speaks English is a citizen of the world. That has its opportunities, and it also has its obligations.

The Problem of Spelling

MICHAEL WEST

ENGLISH SPELLING is a major trouble not only to the foreign learner but also to the native English writer.

There are three ways of dealing with this problem:

- (1) by learning and using the rules of spelling;
- (2) by remembering apposite examples as patterns;
- (3) by forming in the mind clear visual images of the correct spellings, and avoiding blurred or incorrect images.

The Rules of Spelling

It is not easy to find a complete set of the rules. Some of them are given in all books, others in some books, but a concise statement of the complete set of 30 rules is, so far as I know, to be found in only one book.

Some of the rules are not very useful because they have so many exceptions. Thus the rule that words ending in consonant + *-o* form their plurals in *-oes* has so many exceptions as to be almost useless. Indeed, it is perhaps better to reverse the rule and say that words ending in consonant + *-o* form their plurals in *-os* unless they are words definitely adopted into the English language, such as *buffaloes*, *cargoes*, *echoes*, *heroes*, *negroes*, *tomatoes*, *torpedoes*,

*veto*es, *volcano*es. English is very slow in 'naturalizing' foreign words and more of them enter the language every year: even *commando*/s has not yet been anglicized. The Concise Oxford Dictionary has *portico*s, but the Authors' and Printers' Dictionary has *portico*es.

On some rules even the dictionaries disagree, e.g. *-able* or *-eable*. In the case of fourteen words (*blameable*, *bribeable*, *hireable*, *likeable*, *liveable*, *nameable*, *rateable*, *rebukeable*, *unrideable*, *saleable*, *sizeable*, *tameable*, *timeable*, *unshakeable*), some dictionaries disallow the *-e-*, some allow it, some enjoin it. The *-e-* certainly makes the word more easily recognized.

There is similar disagreement about the *-e-* in *cringeing*, *hingeing*, *impingeing*, *tingeing*. *Homey* is preferred by Webster and the Shorter Oxford, but Fowler disagrees; *nosy* is general but Chambers has *Nosey Parker*.

In the case of *-ise*, *-ize* Chambers prefers *-ise* in all cases, so one cannot be wrong; but Oxford and others (including Webster) put *-ize* except in 24 cases.

Pattern Words

It is easier to remember an example than a rule, if that example is well-chosen. Thus for the rule 'One syllable, One vowel letter + one consonant—double the consonant when adding *-ing*, *-ed*, etc.', we may use:

Bat—*batting* but *Boat*—*boating*

The rule applies to words of more than one syllable if the last syllable is accented:

*For*gét—*forgetting* but *Fid*get—*fidgeting*

Final *-l* is doubled, even if unaccented:

*Trá*vel—*travelling*

(This is the major difference between British and American spelling; *traveling*—25 per cent of the variants.)

For plurals, *-ies* after a consonant, we may use—

Pony—*ponies* but *Donkey*—*donkeys*

For *-able*, *-e-* after soft *c* or *g*, we may use—

Implacable but *Replaceable*
Navigable but *Marriageable*

Here again dictionaries disagree in the case of *likeable*, *saleable*, *sizeable*, *unshakeable*, and twelve other words. Where the dictionaries disagree, we may do as we like.

Spelling is a Visual Memory

Spelling is a visual memory. If the word *looks* right, it *is* right. Conversely, every time a writer guesses and writes an incorrect spelling, or evades the problem by smudging the problematic letters, he leaves a wrong or smudged image on his brain, and this may take years to eradicate or even leave a permanent hesitation.

The best of all rules of spelling is Rule 31:

When in doubt, look it up BEFORE you write it.

It is difficult to observe this rule when using an ordinary dictionary in which spelling items are about 0.3 per cent of running words, the rest of the space being occupied with pronunciation, meanings, phrases, and etymology.

A dictionary of spelling (e.g., one of those listed below) should contain nothing but spellings and have no appendices.

A test showed that it took an average of 24 seconds to find a spelling in a normal dictionary, but only 11 seconds in a dictionary of spelling. In some cases it took a very long time, e.g., 'What is the plural of *cul-de-sac*? Is it hyphenated? Is it italicized?' The subject of the test failed to find the word in the body of the dictionary so turned to the Appendix of Foreign Words, failed to find it there, turned back to the body of the dictionary and discovered it as a sub-item of *cul-de-four*, but failed to discover the plural or whether it is italicized. This needed a reference to another dictionary which italicized it (but did not give the plural). Since the word does not seem to be italicized ordinarily, reference was made to a third dictionary—after first discovering how italics are indicated in it (by the sign ||); no italics. Reference to a dictionary of spelling gave all the answers in ten seconds.

Much time may be taken in an ordinary dictionary where the meaning affects the spelling, since this involves reading through the definitions and examples, and sometimes a reference to the other spelling in its alphabetical position. Examples: *balk/baulk*, *bail/bale*, *staved* (off disaster), *stove in* (the boat). Sometimes the spellings are merely shown as alternatives and the distinction is not discoverable.

Like the other aspects of language, spelling changes—too rapidly in some cases for the normal dictionary to keep up with it. The misspelling *tyre* (due to registered names of British Companies) has been accepted in Britain, but not in the U.S.A.; but the dictionaries still prefer *brier pipe* and *castor sugar*, though the trade has definitely decided on *briar* and *caster*. So also *alarum clocks* are now (in the opinion of a manufacturer) *alarm*. The misspelling *callouses* (for *calloses* or *callosities*) is in course of

becoming established, and *porage* (helped by *Scott's Porage Oats*) threatens *porridge*.

The dictionaries are most out of date in respect of hyphens. Any two words affianced by a hyphen tend, if frequently used, to become one; but the dictionaries do not readily approve of such companionate marriages. The dictionaries of spelling print *textbook*, *today*, *tomorrow*, *tonight*, as one word but other dictionaries hyphenate. The hyphens in *copy-book* and *psycho-analyst* are found only in some dictionaries not even in ordinary printing. The hyphen in *good-bye* seems etymologically unjustifiable, and tends to disappear.

The lexicographer is faced with a problem where the accepted spelling conflicts with the *correct* spelling. Thus *Buncombe* is the name of an American Congress-man who made silly speeches; hence the word has come to mean 'nonsense', but the accepted British spelling is *bunkum*, and a standard dictionary has '*buncombe*—See *bunkum*' (Correct—See Accepted). On the other hand, we find *kowtow* (Accepted) referred to *kotwow* (Accepted—See Correct). So also in the case of preferences: one dictionary gives *aline*, *align* (Correct, Accepted); another gives *align*, *aline* (Accepted, Correct).

In the case of a dictionary of spelling the accepted must, of course, be preferred, though the correct may be mentioned.

There are some problems on which book-references are not enough: individual enquiry has to be made of Lloyd's Register, the College of Arms, Forest Products, etc.

The greatest problem of every lexicographer is what to put in. In the case of a dictionary of spelling one should include those words likely to be written by the user, and, of these, those likely to be misspelled (or misused in respect of preposition, tense, suffix, plural, feminine, etc.). Clearly one should not include misspellings possible only in the case of persons too young, or too illiterate, to use a dictionary, e.g. *There/their*. The Thorndike/Lorge word-frequency list of 30,000 words is of some help as a guide to exclusions. Apart from that, the selection must be influenced by the prospective user.

Judging which words are likely to be misspelled is a still greater problem, and the most valuable help here is the actual misspelling observed in journals, books, formal letters. Thus a London daily newspaper misspelled *cyanide*, a school calendar *fleur-de-lis*, a lawyer *by-pass*, and *supersede* is commonly misspelt by non-Latinists.

Readers of this article can be very helpful if they would send me a postcard (c/o Longmans) giving any words which they tend to misspell but which are not found in 'A Dictionary of Spelling'.

References

- There are two dictionaries of spelling:
- The Authors' and Printers' Dictionary*. F. Howard Collins, Oxford University Press, 1956, 12s. 6d. 442 pages; about 22,000 entries. Selection of items scholarly and typographical biased. Plurals, some tenses and suffixes; not prepositions. Italics. (11 pt type.)
- A Dictionary of Spelling*. Michael West, Longmans, 1964, 6s. 122 pages. About 13,000 entries. General purpose selection. Plurals, tenses, suffixes, prepositions, italics. Also rules of spelling. (10 pt type.)

Predicting Pronunciation Problems —Articulation

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THE PURPOSE OF this article is to demonstrate that a contrastive analysis aimed at predicting the muscular skills (modes of articulation) that will tend to be transferred from a native language (NL) system to a target language (TL) system provides information that is essential to the mastery of the TL.

The languages involved are Tehrani Persian (NL) and American English (TL). The analysis is divided into two sections: (a) types of articulation and (b) features of articulation.¹

Predictions that can be made to begin with are of two categories that will not be problems: (a) sounds which occur only in the NL—the post-velar fricative and stop in Persian—and (b) restrictions which occur only in the TL—the velar nasal ('sing') does not occur initially in English.

Types of articulation

(a) There are several types of articulation which occur only in the TL: the consonant sounds 'thin', 'this', and 'wine'; the vowel sounds 'bit', 'bet', 'but', 'not', and 'book'; the diphthong sounds 'cow' and 'boy'; and initial consonant clusters such as 'spin' and 'class'.

¹This discussion is based on 'A Contrastive Analysis of Persian and English,' (unpublished), Mohammad Ali Jazayery and Jeris E. Strain, Peace Corps Project for Iran, Utah State University, Logan (1962) which in turn was based on *A Reference Grammar of Modern Persian* (unpublished), M. A. Jazayery and Herbert H. Paper, University of Michigan, 1961 and *The Structure of American English*, Nelson Francis, New York: The Ronald Press Company (1958).

Thus, the speaker of Persian must develop the following muscular skills as he masters the sound system of English:

- (i) 'thin' and 'this': extending the tip of the tongue between the teeth and touching the upper teeth;
- (ii) 'wine': rounding the lips and constricting them slightly;
- (iii) the tongue positions:
 - 'bit'—high-front but slightly lowered and backed,
 - 'bet'—mid-front but slightly lowered and backed,
 - 'but'—mid-central,
 - 'not'—low-central,
 - 'book'—high-back but slightly lowered and fronted;
- (iv) the tongue movements:
 - 'cow'—from low-central toward high-back,
 - 'boy'—from low-back toward high-front.

(b) A slightly different problem is represented by the diphthong sound 'my'. In Persian this sound occurs only at the end of words; in English it occurs there and at the beginning ('ice') and in the middle ('fine') of words as well. Since the sound occurs in the native language, it is not a skill that needs to be developed; because it is restricted in the native language but not in the target language it is a skill that needs to be expanded.

(c) One other type of problem is represented by initial consonant clusters; for example, 'spin' and 'class'. Persian does not have any consonant clusters at the beginning of words; English has several. Consequently, the Persian consonant-vowel-consonant patterns tend to be transferred into English. There are two such patterns: a vowel before the consonant clusters [sp], [st], [sk]; and a vowel between the two consonants in clusters such as [kl], [gl], and [br]. In both cases the problem is to eliminate articulation of the extra vowel sound.

Features of articulation

A seemingly unending number of contrasts can be located when one begins examining phonetic features. Generally speaking, they fall into two categories: NL sound features which should be eliminated and TL sound features which should be developed.

(a) Three sounds that illustrate articulatory features which should be eliminated are 'rang', 'rack', and 'rag'. In Persian the first, a velar nasal, is always pronounced as [-ŋk] or [-ŋg]; the other two, voiceless and voiced velar stops, are strongly palatalized at the end of words and before front vowels. The features to be eliminated are the stop following the velar nasal (for such words as 'rang' and 'sing', but not for 'rank' or 'sink') and the strong palatalization of the velar stops (for words such as 'rack', 'can', 'kept', 'rag', 'gas', and 'get').

(b) Modification of the velar stops anticipates the second category; one may wish to replace the palatalization feature with development of light aspiration. This category can be illustrated better, however, with the vowel sounds 'beet' and 'boot'. In General American English these sounds consist of tongue positions (high-front and high-back) plus movements (towards the front and towards the back of the mouth, respectively); the corresponding Persian sounds do not include tongue movements. The features that should be developed are the movements toward the front and the back of the mouth.

(c) The sound 'row' illustrates the replacement of an undesirable feature with a desirable one (similar to [k] and [g] above). In Persian the sound 'row' is either a trill or a flap; that is, the tongue touches the teeth ridge one or more times while the sound is being articulated. The sound in English is made with retroflexion—turning the tip of the tongue toward the back of the mouth. The feature to be eliminated is touching the teeth ridge with the tongue; the feature to be developed is retroflexion. (One may wish to develop lip-rounding as a co-articulated feature.)

Concluding statements

This has been a brief attempt to apply contrastive analysis procedures to the articulatory-production level of two sound systems in order to predict pronunciation problems; the emphasis was on surveying different types of contrasts. The objective was to determine which sounds and sound features should be developed on the one hand and which should be eliminated on the other. Effectively pinpointed were pronunciation problems such as (a) new types of articulation to be developed, one type to be expanded, and one type to be eliminated; and (b) articulatory features to be eliminated, some to be developed, and some that combined elimination of one feature with development of another.

The outstanding distinction of this contrastive analysis is that it focuses on articulation rather than on sound substitutions. If the latter type of analysis had been conducted, such pronunciation problems as 'thin' and 'wine' would have been viewed as substitutions of the sounds [t] and [v] rather than as the development of two new types of articulation.

This analysis, which was undertaken to demonstrate the importance of articulation in the mastery of a new sound system, was made possible only by setting all but a single aspect of sounds aside temporarily. A complete picture of pronunciation problems would also include potential sound substitutions, psychological insights into language learning, and such non-linguistic factors that affect learning as a student's age, his linguistic background, and the length and type of course.

Final Clusters and the Spanish-Speaking Learner

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READERS DEVOTED TO the teaching of English to Spanish-speaking students, who found my article on initial clusters useful,¹ may be interested in the following notes on clusters in final position.

To a certain extent one is justified in saying that final clusters are more important than initial clusters, because whereas the latter only perform lexical functions, final clusters have grammatical functions as well.

In some ways final clusters constitute a greater problem than initial clusters. For one thing they are more varied and numerous. It is not an easy task to compile complete lists, and classification (particularly for teaching purposes) offers its own problems. Variant forms—a number of which involve the breaking up of the cluster—are also more numerous.

From the point of view of the Spanish learner, on the other hand, several difficulties present themselves, the main one being that final clusters are non-existent in Spanish, except in a few foreign words (such as *box*, *sprint*, *tackle*, *twist*, etc.) in which more often than not the cluster is destroyed or distorted in various ways. Some of the final clusters of English do exist in Spanish, but as initial or medial clusters, and they are never identical in the phonetic sense (that is, there may be clusters which in both languages are spelt with the same letters, or even represented with the same phonetic symbols, yet the corresponding realizations differ to a greater or lesser degree). These differences may not be of the sort liable to cause unintelligibility, but they will certainly contribute to a general reduction of the degree of intelligibility. It is up to the teacher to decide for himself what degree of accuracy he is to require from his pupils, the aim of the course and the use to which the pupils intend to put their knowledge of English being the main factors to be borne in mind.

As with my article on initial clusters, the following general approach, and the specific suggestions put forward for the teaching of the various clusters, are intended mainly for adult learners. When teaching children the approach will be different, since the younger the learners the less necessary does it become to draw

¹Initial Clusters and the Spanish-Speaking Learner', *E.L.T.*, XVI, 2, Jan.-March 1962, pp. 95-101.

their attention to pronunciation problems. And, even when it is found necessary or convenient to do so, the method to be applied will differ from the one set out below.

In an earlier issue of this journal L. A. Hill gives a list of 336 final clusters of English.¹ His article should be read in conjunction with this one. It is unnecessary for me to offer another list here, partly because Hill's list is reasonably complete, and also because, final clusters being absent from Spanish, it is not possible to make a comparison cluster by cluster, nor offer examples of their use in English and Spanish words.

The following clusters might, however, be added to the above-mentioned list:

With Two Consonants

/nʒ/ change (also pronounced /ŋt/ instinct (also pr. /ŋkt/)
/ndʒ/)²

With Three Consonants

/dst/ midst (also pr. /tst/)	/pnl/ shrapnel
/ftn/ often (also pr. /fn/)	/sns/ nuisance
/lbd/ bulbed	/tst/ blitzed
/ndθ/ thousandth (also pr. /ntθ/) ³	/zns/ presence
/nʒd/ lounged (also pr. /ndʒd/) ²	/ŋts/ instincts (also pr. /ŋkts/)

With Four Consonants

/lkts/ mulcts	/ndθs/ thousandths (also pr. /ntθs/) ³
/ltst/ waltzed (also pr. /lst/)	/stld/ pestled (also pr. /sld/)
/mznd/ crimsoned	/zndθ/ thousandth (also pr. /zntθ/)
/ndld/ handled	/ŋkts/ instincts (also pr. /ŋts/)

With Five Consonants

/zndθs/ thousandths (also pr. /zntθs/)

Other readers may have come across still further clusters which could profitably be added to the list. As intimated in an earlier

¹'Final Clusters in English', *E.L.T.*, XVII, 4, July 1963, pp. 167-72.

²Where alveolar /d/ disappears after alveolar /n/. Cf. footnote 6 of L. A. Hill's article. I have not come across written justification for including /lʒ/ and /lʒd/ as English final clusters to be used as alternative forms of /ldʒ/ and /ldʒd/, although it is tempting to include them in order to complete the picture. It would appear to be a general tendency to eliminate the second of a sequence of two alveolar consonants when the first is either /l/ or /n/: *hands*, /hæn(d)z/; *builds*, /bil(d)z/.

³The inclusion of /zndθ/, /zntθ/, /zndθs/ and /zntθs/ makes the listing of /ndθ/, /ntθ/, /ndθs/ and /ntθs/ superfluous. /ndθ/ and /ndθs/ are nevertheless included here for the sake of completeness, since some of them already appear in L. A. Hill's list.

paragraph, it is virtually impossible to be perfectly certain of the completeness of a list of final clusters. But some of the examples found in works on linguistics, included for the sake of filling gaps, would have no place in a list conceived for practical teaching purposes.

/dʒ/ and /tʃ/ may be regarded as single consonants—and that is probably how most practising teachers treat them—in which case they would not be included at all as clusters, /dʒd/ and /tʃt/ would figure among two-consonant clusters rather than three-consonant clusters, and so on. This, however, is a theoretical point rather than a practical one. Provided the teacher is consistent in his classification, he need not make an issue of it, and there would certainly be no point in bothering the pupils with it.

Alternative pronunciations need not be taught, although their existence may be pointed out to advantage. For instance, only one pronunciation of *width* need be taught: /widθ/ or /witθ/, the former bearing a greater resemblance to the spelling of the word (see next paragraph). In this particular case the cluster /tθ/ would still have to be taught for such a word as *eighth* /eitθ/. Obviously prior knowledge and usage of one form or other by a pupil should be taken into account. Whatever pronunciation the teacher may use, he would hardly be justified in correcting a pupil who is already familiar with an acceptable alternative pronunciation.

With the exception referred to in the next paragraph, it would seem advisable, on the whole, to teach the form that presents greater similarity to the ordinary orthography of the word, since, whether we like it or not, students are strongly influenced by spelling. Given the choice, the pupil will generally take the course just suggested.

As L. A. Hill points out (see paragraph 3 of his article), some clusters may be dissolved by the insertion of the 'neutral' vowel (and also, in some cases, by /i/ and /e/). Furthermore, he suggests (paragraph 9) that the foreign student may find it easier to avoid the cluster by inserting the corresponding vowel sound. This is obviously the case with Spanish-speaking learners. Yet, owing to the general tendency of these students to insert an incorrect vowel sound (usually the Spanish equivalent suggested by the spelling), I find it more convenient to teach the cluster rather than the pronunciation with the vowel.

Spanish lacks final consonant clusters. In fact, final *consonants* are rather limited in number, though the frequency of occurrence of a few of them seems to be fairly high. On the other hand, there appears to be a general tendency to weaken and drop final consonants. In certain cases this is acceptable practice even in educated forms of the language. In others, however, it is regarded as regional or uneducated. But as education—particularly beyond the primary

school level—ceases to be the privilege of a few and becomes available to the lower social levels the problem is met with increasingly in the classroom.¹

Owing to this tendency, and to the fact that final consonants are few in Spanish, most teachers find it necessary to emphasize the pronunciation of English final consonants and consonant clusters. Some of them insist on this to such an extent that it affects their way of speaking, methodological techniques becoming habitual in their speech. The techniques referred to include lengthening, exaggerated aspiration, full voicing (where devoicing would normally be expected), addition of some shade or other of /ə/, extra strong breath force, and even ejection.

Although it is necessary to insist on the correct production of final consonants and consonant clusters, teachers should be careful not to go to such extremes, at least as normal procedure. After all, there are ways of making sure that the pupil pronounces correctly without the teacher using unduly exaggerated pronunciations himself.

A brief consideration of Spanish and English consonant sounds will be useful. Indeed, by the time the student reaches the present stage he should have been through all the English (and Spanish) consonants individually. In any case, the notes in my article on initial clusters² (supplemented when necessary by reference to the books listed in footnote 5 of the same article³ might be helpful.

¹For brief notes on final consonants in Spanish consult *Manual de Pronunciación Española* by T. Navarro Tomás (Publicaciones de la Revista de Filología Española, No. III). The following is a list of consonants used finally in Spanish, the sections of the *Manual* with pertinent references to some of them being indicated: 'b' (pr. [β]), in words of foreign origin and names: *club*, *Jacob* (ff. 81); 'c' (and 'k', both pr. /k/), in certain foreign words, easily elided: *cinc*, *block*, *cok* (ff. 125); 'd' (pr. [ð]), a regular final consonant in Spanish, generally weakened and often dropped altogether: *dad*, *verdad* (ff. 102); 'j' (pr. /x/), in a few words; also subject to elision: *reloj*, *boj* (ff. 131); 'l', a regular final consonant: *sol*, *árbol*; 'm' (pr. /n/), though in Hispano-American countries speakers appear to hesitate between /n/ and /m/, in a number of words and names: *álbum*, *máximo* (ff. 86, 110); 'n', a regular final consonant: *balcón*, *caminan* (ff. 110); 'r' (pr. [r]), a regular final consonant, often dropped in vulgar speech: *traer*, *revólver* (ff. 115); 's', a regular final consonant, often dropped or pronounced [h]: *alas*, *atrás* (ff. 109); 't', in foreign words and names: *robot*, *Lot*; 'z' (pr. /θ/ or /s/), a regular final consonant: *cruz*, *atroz*. Words such as *bluff*, *stop*, *rouge*, etc., introduce further final consonants, but they are entirely foreign to Spanish practice, just as much, in fact, as some of those listed above.

²Initial Clusters and the Spanish-Speaking Learner', *E.L.T.*, XVI, 2, Jan.-March 1962, pp. 95-101.

³For the pronunciation of Spanish the work referred to in the first footnote above might be added. For English a new and important addition is *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* by A. C. Gimson, Edward Arnold, London, 1962.

The teacher will then have to analyse the consonants in the context of each cluster or group of clusters. Apart from the fact that the various consonants involved may be notably different from the corresponding Spanish sounds (if the language happens to possess them), there may be differences between the same consonant when used as part of a cluster and when used in other contexts. Attention must be paid to these differences in order to attain a fair degree of accuracy, as well as to simplify matters for the pupil.

The following should be borne in mind:

(a) Incomplete plosion: When two plosives come together in a cluster, only the second is exploded fully. When this is pointed out to the student he tends to leave out the first plosive altogether, thereby making no difference between words like *cut*—*cupped*. The method of production must be carefully explained. (Incomplete plosion also occurs in Spanish, though not in final position: *apto*, *acto*, etc.). Examples: /bd/, /pt/.

(b) Nasal plosion: When a plosive sound precedes a nasal the soft palate must be lowered while the organs involved in the articulation of the plosive are still in contact. Most pupils find this difficult at first. Examples: /dn/, /tn/.

(c) Lateral plosion: When an alveolar plosive consonant is followed by /l/, one or both *sides* of the tongue must be lowered while the tip of the tongue is still pressed against the teeth-ridge. This is achieved successfully by most Spanish-speaking students in medial position, since /tl/ exists medially in Spanish, but not finally. Examples: /kl/, /dl/.

(d) Dental articulation of /t/ and /d/ when followed by /θ/. This may not be an obstacle with some (since Spanish /t/ and /d/ are dental), but the student who is conscious of the fact that English /t/ and /d/ are usually alveolar and not dental as in Spanish will need to be warned about the difference.

(e) Dark /l/ ([ɫ]) is foreign to Spanish and must therefore be taught. Many students will tend to hear, and consequently pronounce, /ul/ or /u:l/ instead of [ɫ]. Examples: /gl/, /sl/.

(f) Clusters made up of a succession of fricative sounds prove difficult for most learners and require careful practice. Examples: /fθ/, /fθs/.

(g) The devoicing of final 'voiced' plosives and fricatives when followed by a pause or a voiceless sound.

(h) The fact that typically aspirated sounds (voiceless plosives) are less aspirated finally.

(i) The fact that consonants generally are weaker in final position (i.e. produced with less breath force than when found in other positions).

(j) The fact that plosives may be unexploded in absolute final position. One way to set about teaching final clusters is as follows:

- (1) Begin with two-member clusters;
- (2) In doing so, start by teaching clusters of type (b)—i.e. those occurring across a morpheme boundary¹—in the following order:
 - (i) C + /s/ or /z/ (the regular plural of nouns, the third person singular of verbs in the present tense, the possessive case, certain contracted forms);
 - (ii) C + /t/ or /d/ (the past tense and past participle of regular verbs);
- (3) Move on to less usual type (b) clusters, and add type (a) sequences;
- (4) Three-, four- and five-member clusters may be dealt with in the same order.

Obviously the teacher will have to decide for himself which clusters to include and which to leave out, and for this the main consideration will be the frequency of occurrence in speech and, to a certain extent, the amount of difficulty for his pupils. He need not wait until the list of two-member sequences has been exhausted before beginning with longer ones. Some of the longer clusters are more useful than certain two-member ones. For instance, /ln/ and /θl/ are less likely to be required than /ldz/ and /ŋklz/.

It hardly needs to be mentioned that clusters are not to be taught on their own, but in actual words, or at least with an initial vowel sound. In choosing his words the teacher should aim at finding the shortest possible words to begin with, with as few strange or difficult sounds as possible, so that the learner may be able to concentrate all his efforts on the cluster itself.

Finally, the stages suggested towards the end of my article on initial clusters should be kept in view in dealing with final clusters. Briefly they are as follows: (a) recognition; (b) production in isolated words (whether meaningful or otherwise); (c) production in controlled contexts (short phrases and sentences); (d) performance in actual speech.³

¹See L. A. Hill's article, paragraph 4. Some clusters belong to both types, e.g. /ks/ *box, books*; /kt/ *act, rocked*.

²C stands for any consonant sound capable of being combined with one of the sounds indicated.

³Some useful lists of words (both meaningful and meaningless) and exercises for practising some of the commoner clusters will be found in *Drills and Tests in English Sounds* by L. A. Hill (Longmans, 1961). They will be found useful also as a starting-point for devising further exercises.

A Bilingual Child

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OBSERVATIONS of the linguistic development of bilingual children are usually carried out under the following circumstances:

(1) In areas where the population is made up of two or three or more national groups, i.e. where the majority speaks both languages almost equally well. These bilingual or multilingual populations are normally found along national frontiers.

(2) When a child lives in a foreign country and consequently speaks two languages.¹

Studies of the second type are, for obvious reasons, somewhat rarer than those of the first.

Here, however, is an even rarer category of bilingual child. It may happen that one parent habitually speaks a foreign language to the child while with the other parent and with playmates the mother tongue is used. A further and a rather important distinction should be made here. The language foreign to the child may or may not be foreign to the parent who uses it with the child.²

The rarity of descriptions of the linguistic development of children in this group may make the following summary of interest. The child in question speaks English with one parent and Serbian with the other. The boy, Rayko, is now seven years old. I started to speak to him in English when he was about seven months old.

Relationship between the two languages in the child's mind

One of the main questions in studies of bilingualism is the age at which the child becomes conscious of using two different means of verbal communication.

Though I cannot say exactly when this occurred (I believe it to have been between the fifth and sixth years), I can give an example which shows that at four years and one month (4·1) the boy was still not aware of speaking two languages.

Myself: 'Rayko, tell Peter to shut the door.'

R (in English): 'Peter, shut the door.'

(P: No reaction at all.)

¹Y. Iqbal, 'A Child Learning a Foreign Language in England', *E.L.T.*, XV, 4, 1961.

²W. F. Leopold, *Speech Development of a Bilingual Child*, 4 vols., Evanston Northwest University, U.S.A.

I repeat my request with a sign of annoyance in my voice, and Rayko imitates the change in his voice too.

Myself: 'Rayko tell Peter to shut the door, but in the way you speak with your mother.'

R (in Serbian): 'Well, Peter, will you shut that door!!' Rayko did not realize that his friend Peter did not understand him.

Here is a similar example. If the boy happened to come across a word first in English and later in Serbian he would use the English word in Serbian without being aware of mixing the two languages. Here is a bit of conversation which illustrates this.

X: 'Daj mi da vidim *aparāt*.' (Let me see the *camera*.)

R: 'To nije *aparāt*, to je *camera*.' (It's not an *aparāt*, it's a *camera*.)

Here is another example, slightly different from the first two, which sheds light on the problem of the relation of the two languages. The boy spoke to no one but me in English when prompted to do so.¹ He must have associated English with me, though perhaps not as a separate language, and Serbian with everyone else. Although it must have been clear to him that no one but I could understand English, he was nevertheless surprised (at 5·1) to discover that his grandmother could not understand it. One day I came home and asked the boy to bring me my slippers. The boy's grandmother heard my request and asked the boy to tell her what I had asked him for. The boy reacted in this way: 'But granny, don't you understand such a simple word as *slippers*?' This was all in Serbian, except for the word *slippers*.

A similar thing happened when, a few months later, the boy's cousin came to see him. She found me reading him an English story. Rayko wanted me to finish the story and his cousin sat by us listening. She could not understand a single word of English. After some time the girl asked Rayko what I was reading about. The boy started translating the story, and I deliberately let him do so to see the result of his 'consecutive translation'. I read a sentence and the boy translated it to his cousin. He translated every sentence quite correctly, but if a sentence happened to be 'an easy one', for instance 'His name was Tom', he would just *repeat* the sentence in English. When the girl asked for the sentence to be translated, he replied 'But don't you understand such a simple thing?' (This, of course, in Serbian.)

Once I overheard a piece of his egocentric speech which might also have bearing on this problem.

The boy was playing with his model cowboys and Indians. He was by himself, just outside the door, so I could hear him playing

¹Although he was not aware of using two languages he knew somehow that he could use only this mode of language, i.e. English, with me.

and talking. His speech consisted of very short sentences, alternately in Serbian and English, as, for instance, 'Hands up', 'Well done', 'Come on', 'Hurry up', 'What's that', 'Oh no', 'Kill him', 'Not now'. The sentences or single words were both in Serbian and in English. When I went and asked him why he was talking in Serbian and English at the same time, he answered me in Serbian, quite surprised, 'How can the Indians speak the same language as the cowboys?'

Transfer from Serbian to English and vice versa

At a time when the boy limited his answers to 'yes' and 'no' he sometimes used to add a Serbian suffix to an English verb, for instance:

I: 'Did you catch it, Rayko?'

R: 'Yes, catch^{IO} SAM.' That is, he would add a Serbian suffix for the past (First Person Singular) and the auxiliary verb SAM. The same thing happened with other English verbs, e.g. put^{NUO} SAM. It can be seen that the boy understood that I was referring to the past, but being unable at that stage to use the past tense, he simply transferred the Serbian suffixes to the English language.

The same thing happened with diminutives. The boy understood the difference between 'a dog' and 'a little dog'. When he started using the two forms in active speech he used to say either 'a little dog' or sometimes, 'dog^{IC}', e.g. adding again a Serbian diminutive suffix (of the noun *dog*).

A syntactical transfer from Serbian to English was noticed too, and took a long time to correct. For instance, the boy used for a very long time to say 'Here is' instead of 'Here it is' or 'It is here', because there is no impersonal 'it' in Serbian. 'Here is' is a literal translation of the corresponding Serbian phrase.

Transfer from English to Serbian was also noticed. It took various forms. Sometimes the boy translated English phrases into Serbian: e.g. *put it up* (for radio—to make it louder), etc.

It must be observed here that this kind of transfer took place at a time when the boy's knowledge of his mother tongue was not so good as it is now, when the boy's habits in his mother tongue were not strongly enough established. Consequently they could easily be replaced by the patterns of another language.

Homonyms

When the boy was 4;7 he noticed the phenomenon of homonyms and showed this in the following way.

Myself: 'And let's lie on the couch and read the paper.'

R (in Serbian to his mother): 'We are not going to tell lies, we are just going to lie down, you know, and read the paper.'

He made a similar remark about the word *watch* (a verb and a noun).

A word pronounced rather like English *look* means in Serbian *onion*. Once, quite suddenly, without any external stimulus, when I was reading a book and the boy was playing nearby, he came to me and said (in Serbian) 'You know, when one says *look here* he does not mean onion, does he?'

Oral production

As already mentioned, the boy used English only with me, even in the early stages when communication was rudimentary. It is interesting that he used English much more spontaneously when, for instance, he woke up during the night. On these occasions he would always call for me, not his mother, and invariably in English. In the daytime he used both languages, but at night only English. I can only hazard a guess at the reason. During the day his exposure to Serbian was greater than to English and although he spoke both it required a greater effort to switch to English. Very often he would ask me for quite simple things in Serbian under the 'inertia effect' of just having been speaking Serbian. At night he was free of this influence and inevitably, in calling me, used only English.

As time passed and the boy's ability in his mother tongue grew, his preference for his mother tongue grew too. He used English with me only if he was not in a hurry or if he was not excited and in the evening, when we were alone, myself reading a story or just talking to him. Now after a year of absence from home I have noticed that the boy uses English more gladly and readily than before. This might be due to his age, as he is now more mature and finds the shift from one language to another easier, since his ability to use his mother tongue is now perfect and his speech habits quite well rooted.

Now at the age of seven the boy does not mix the two languages at all. He says something either in English or in Serbian. When he was younger he would mix the two languages and use a Serbian word for the English one which he did not know; as, for instance, 'Jel 'da slam' (Shall I slam), meaning the door. This was when he was 3·4.

The boy realized that if he wanted something he stood a better chance of getting it if he asked for it in English. Sometimes he used to make an 'introductory' remark before asking for something in Serbian; for instance, meeting me in front of the house, he would say 'There is a letter for you' and then he would shift to Serbian, asking for something that was either too difficult to be said in English, or was required so urgently that he could not wait to put it into English.

General remarks

Adaptation of Serbian words to make them sound English was a very frequent phenomenon. This does not happen now, or happens very rarely; when he does so it is perhaps deliberate, because the boy must have noticed that it amuses people who understand English to hear him adapting Serbian words.

Words were adapted phonologically and formally.

(a) When the boy did not know the word *cardboard* he used to say *kartən*; he merely changed the pronunciation of the Serbian equivalent of the word *cardboard*, which is *'karton*. We should point out here the omission of the consonant [r] and the lengthening of the preceding vowel [a:], which in the Serbian word *karton* is short. The same thing happened with some other Serbian words.

(b) The adaptation of the Serbian words in form, to make them similar to English, was more usual.

The Serbian verb ends either in *ti* or in *ći*. The boy noticed this, and when he needed an English verb which he did not know he simply made the corresponding Serbian verb monosyllabic leaving out the typical Serbian suffix, as for instance in: 'May I *klek* (*nuti*) = kneel down. I want to *kreč* (*iti*) = (whitewash).

Apart from transfer between the two languages a transfer was noticed within English alone. The boy realized that the ending /s/, /z/, /iz/ meant more than one. One day he came to me and asked for some paper. The boy asked for paper in Serbian. I was busy and ignored his request. He repeated his request, but this time in English, 'Will you give me a piece of paper, daddy? I want to draw.' I immediately got up and started for the room and the boy added 'twos please'. He wanted to be sure of getting two pieces of paper and added /z/ to the number to make it sound more than one. This was when he was 5·1.

As a very small boy Rayko used to say (in Serbian) PASPAS instead of PAS (a dog). The same thing happened with other monosyllabic words: e.g. SLON (an elephant), SLONSLON, etc. He made monosyllabic words dissyllabic, consisting of two *equal* syllables. The boy was 1·5 at the time. This was probably under the influence of the words he learned first: mother, father, grand-mother (Serbian MAMA, TATA, BABA) which are dissyllabic words consisting of two equal syllables. But at the same time the boy did not transfer this phenomenon from Serbian to English. He used to say DOG and not DOGDOG, or CATCAT.

Conclusion

Observing a child with whom one parent spoke English and one parent Serbian, the following was noticed. The child was not aware of speaking two languages for a long time, until he was about four years of age. Then came a period when the boy realized

the difference between 'Serbian' and 'English', but in a peculiar way (the example of translating only 'difficult' sentences to his cousin, for instance, illustrates this). When the boy was about five years of age he became fully aware of differences between various means of verbal communication, English and Serbian being two of them. Modifications of the mother tongue in order to make it similar to English were also noticed, but this only when the boy needed a word which he did not know.

The boy has shown no resistance to learning English so far. He uses it willingly and readily under certain circumstances. His ability to understand is, of course, much better developed than his ability to use the language.

Transfer from Serbian to English and vice versa, and transfer within English itself was noticed.

Learning two verbal means of communication at the same time has not had any adverse effect on the boy's mother tongue as far as can be seen so far. This might be due to my not insisting on English; if the boy does not want to say something in English I never insist on his using it instead of Serbian.

The two languages were developing equally well for some time, namely, while they were developing under similar conditions. When the boy started to have playmates, and the Serbian language became predominant in his surroundings, English, quite naturally, started to lag behind.

As for the learning of English as a foreign language (in schools, for instance), one conclusion could be drawn here. The boy transferred some linguistic items from his mother tongue not because I used a 'grammar-translation method', but as a natural consequence of using two means of communication. The boy's inner ability and inner stimuli for comparisons and analogies made him transfer certain linguistic items from one language to another regardless of the method used.

It might be dangerous and harmful to draw any more conclusions, but observations of this kind (where the linguistic development of even one child is closely followed) could perhaps contribute to the elucidation of certain broader linguistic problems.

Note for our contributors. Would-be contributors are urged to send in outlines or suggestions *only*, to begin with, and not complete articles. Contributions should be specially written for *E.L.T.*, which does not now publish articles which have previously appeared elsewhere.

Developments in Language Laboratory Materials

J. R. BIRNIE and I. R. JOHNSON

A LANGUAGE LABORATORY is only as efficient as the course used in it. One of the greatest drawbacks to installing language laboratory equipment at the moment is the lack of materials specifically produced for language laboratory work. Much of the material at present marketed, especially in the field of English as a foreign language, consists of adapted textbooks. Such material is inadequate, since textbook material is not usually contextualized either visually or acoustically. Many textbooks are not linguistically planned either. Regrettably, salesmen have been reluctant to draw their customers' attention to these facts and this has led to the feeling in some quarters that the usefulness of language laboratories is overrated.

It must be noted, however, that foreign language teachers in general are in a better position than teachers of English as a foreign language. There are several useful foreign language courses, of which CREDIF'S 'Voix et Images'¹ is a good example. This is a course based on dialogues broken down into phrases the student listens to and then repeats.

Such courses make the basic assumption that the language laboratory is only an adjunct to the classroom teaching of the language—a sort of firing-range, almost, on which to practise the instructor's theory before really going into battle. The writers themselves, in their introduction to 'Voix et Images' say 'On estime que les étudiants passent un quart de leur temps au laboratoire et les trois-quarts en classe'. There is a reluctance to admit that the language laboratory can actually teach anything new. In our opinion this is due to the conservative mistrust of teachers afraid of being surpassed by a machine. We contend that, like teaching machines, the language laboratory can be used to teach new material. Indeed, if this were not true the language laboratory would have very little place in teaching English as a foreign language in the developing areas of the world, where local teaching resources are inadequate—here the language laboratory must be used as a teaching machine rather than to reinforce previous classroom instruction. It is therefore unrealistic as well as

¹*Voix et Images de France: Réalisée par le Centre de Recherche et d'Étude pour la Diffusion du Français.*

uneconomic to supply language laboratories in these areas of the world without self-sufficient courses.

In preparing any programme there are two fundamentals to be observed.¹ First of all, the teaching problem must be defined; then it must be possible, after presenting each item, to test its assimilation. The most positive way to do this is to follow the presentation of the item with a binary problem. Unfortunately yes/no answers are of little use in learning a language, since what is required is a response of some length so that the learner *produces* the language (as in ordinary speech). However, the answer to almost any question may be couched in many different words, so foreign language courses in the language laboratory usually rely upon simple repetition of dialogue material. This material is generally graded in one way or another and the learner works from one end of the course to the other. This is known to the programmer as a linear type of course, and by definition it contains no provision for branching. Reinforcement or overlearning of the teaching items have to be incorporated in successive dialogues or left to the teacher. Of branching courses, one American has remarked:

A third type of presentation is the branching type, in which the learner is sent on the basis of his responses to various branches of sequence in the programme. Though widely used in other than language programming, this does not seem to be suitable for programmed second-language instruction. There are, at any rate, no branching type language instruction programmes advertised on the market.²

But the pedagogical and motivational advantages of branched programmes are manifold. For example, when a student fails to grasp the teaching item in any given unit in a branched programme, he will be directed through new (and easier) material which covers the same teaching items, whereas in a linear programme he would have to repeat the same unit until the point was grasped. Also, because there are different 'routes' through a branched programme and these 'routes' are on different levels, this type of programme is much more flexible and adaptable to the individual student's needs than the linear type.

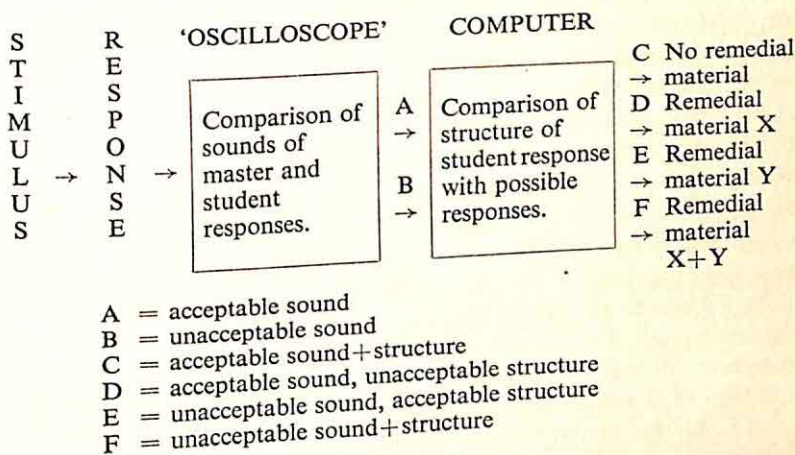
To produce a self-instructional branched foreign language course, ideally, one would need a machine capable of detecting phonic variations from a given model and also a computer with a 'memory' of all possible responses to a given stimulus. This computer would then indicate the correct remedial material to be

¹As this article is intended to have a fairly general appeal, purists will, we are sure, forgive us for not packing the following discussion with programmers' jargon.

²W. F. Marquardt, 'Programmed Instruction', *Language Learning*, XIII, 2, p. 82.

followed by a student giving an incorrect response; in other words the amount of 'back wash' required.

Figure 1



It is interesting to note that a machine discriminating between sounds produced by a model and a student's voice is being developed from the oscilloscope. Phoneticians and electronics experts in various universities are working on the problem. However, such equipment would be too bulky and too costly to install in any language laboratory at present. For the immediate future, we will have to be satisfied with cruder yet organized courses with built-in techniques for coping with the work of the computer and sound-discriminating machine. In other words, the structural and phonological errors which will occur most frequently must be accurately forecast and catered for in advance. Courses will, therefore, be prepared in the following manner:

- (1) If the course is to be (a) *remedial*, an analysis will be made of structural and phonological errors in the students work; (b) a *beginners' course*, the analysis will be of errors in the work of students at the end of the existing beginners' course, thus revealing its deficiencies, combined with a comparative analysis of the L1 and L2 to reveal areas of interference from the native language.
- (2) The results of these analyses will indicate the most common errors. These are then included in an initial behaviour test which is given to all the students. The results should validate and supplement the analysis.¹

¹We have no space in this article to discuss the type of test best suited to this work, but it should be based on the discrimination and production of phonological and structural items.

(3) The high frequency errors thus revealed then become the most important items in the course.

(4) The order of presentation of the items in the course is then determined by (a) how frequently they occur in spoken English (high frequency items are treated first)¹; (b) how much alike they are morphologically and/or from the point of view of meaning. Current thought on this subject is that only structures with both meaning and form alike are treated together. (For instance, although 'I must go' and 'I should go' are alike morphologically, one is only introduced after the other has been adequately reinforced, since there are differences in meaning. Similarly 'I must go' and 'I have to go' are not treated together, because there are formal differences); (c) The error-frequency count resulting from (1) and (2) above.

(5) The time to be allotted to each item will then be decided, bearing in mind the amount of time available to the student to complete the course. Space must also be left to insert terminal behaviour tests at appropriate points.

(6) The course will then be produced on several levels, the terminal behaviour tests serving as check points. The student will continue at the appropriate level in the course, which depends on his results in each of these tests. This 'appropriate level' will be predetermined according to his error score.

Figure 2

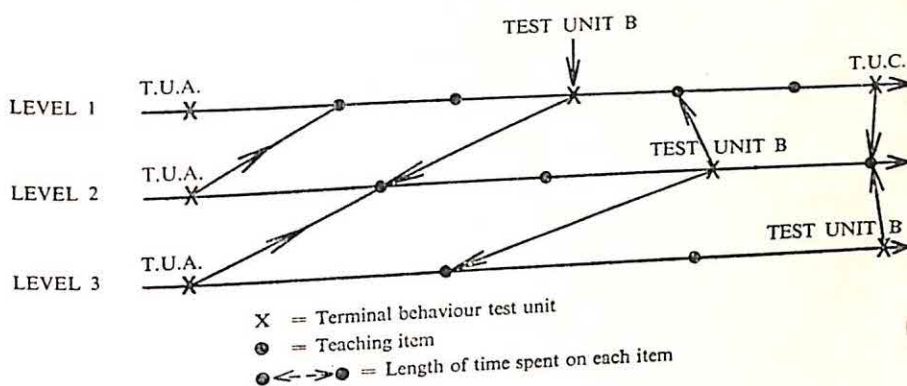
COMPARATIVE TIME SPENT ON EACH ITEM AT THE DIFFERENT LEVELS

DIFFERENT LEVELS																	
LEVEL 1 (ABOVE NORMAL)	1				2				3				4				UNITS
	1				2				3				4				
LEVEL 2 (NORMAL)	1				2				3				4				TEACHING ITEMS
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
LEVEL 3 (BELOW NORMAL)	1				2				3				4				TEACHING ITEMS
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
																	UNITS

¹W. F. Marquardt, 'Programmed Instruction', *Language Learning*, XIII, 2, p. 82.

Figure 3

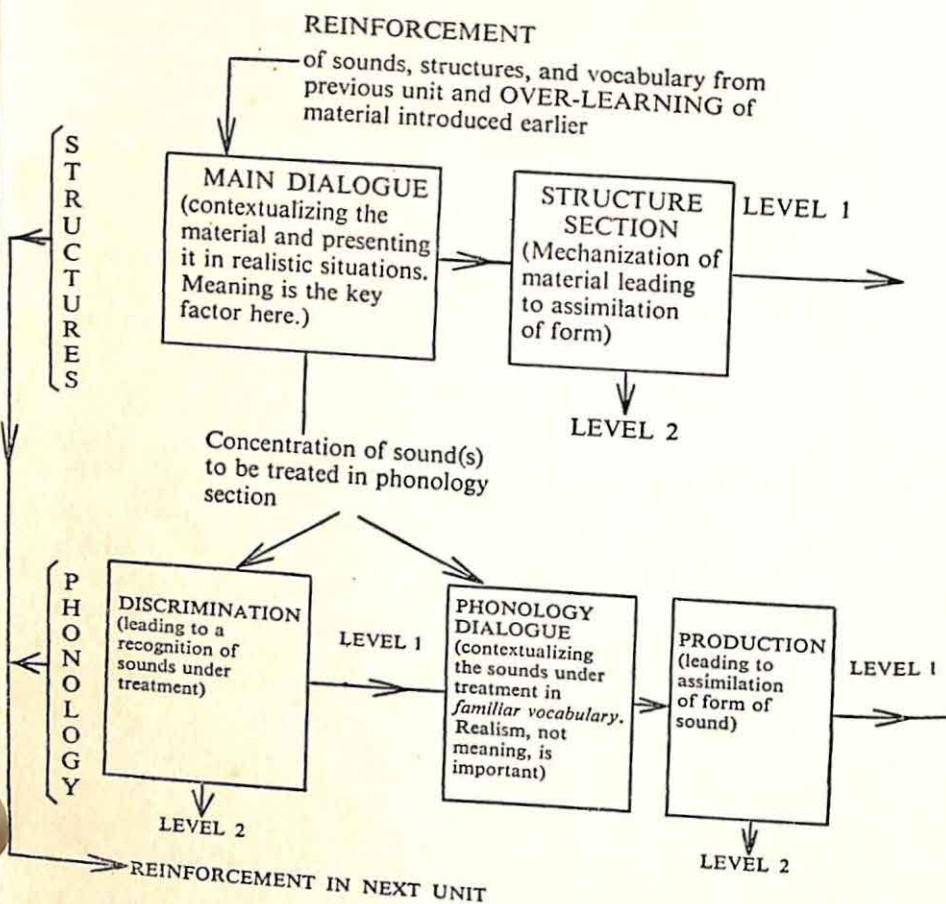
POSSIBLE MOVEMENT IN LEVELS OF STUDENTS DURING THE COURSE



(7) Such courses will be continually subject to in-service revision where a suitably qualified teacher is available. The number of levels may, for example, be increased at specific points in the course which prove difficult.

A two-level course of this type has already been developed by a team with which we worked at the British Council. Pilot units have already proved useful in the reception area and the whole course will shortly go into operation. A third level is planned when more is known about students' reactions. The course is divided into three-part units consisting of a Main Dialogue, and Structure and Phonology sections. In the Main Dialogue new structures and vocabulary are introduced, and structures and vocabulary introduced in the previous unit are reinforced. No other new material appears, but the vowel or consonant, if any, under treatment in the Phonology section is reiterated as often as possible in the Main Dialogue. In the Structure section, various types of exercise utilize the material in the Main Dialogue and complete the main treatment of the new structures. The Phonology section consists of either (a) stress or intonation exercises, or (b) a treatment of sounds causing difficulty, starting with discrimination exercises of gradually increasing difficulty based on minimal pairs. A phonology dialogue highlighting the sound(s) being treated follows. This dialogue contains no new lexical or structural material at all, so that the student may concentrate on sounds rather than meaning. Excerpts from this dialogue, with the sound(s) in stressed and unstressed positions, are then repeated by the student. A typical unit of the course is represented diagrammatically below:

Figure 4



In the treatment of both structures and phonology the pattern is *recognition, assimilation, and production* of the teaching item.

It is apparent that courses of the kind described above are only relevant in the particular area and for the particular type of learner for which they are specifically produced. The faults (in pronunciation especially) of a West Nigerian student of English are not necessarily as those of a Bulgarian—nor even those of an Eastern Nigerian. And a course for primary school beginners, say, must be pitched at a different level from a remedial course for adults. The general method is valid always, but the content of almost every course will vary. It follows, then, that a great number of these courses must be produced, and they will preferably be produced in the field.

There is a great shortage of suitably trained native English models in English language teaching and the situation is broadly

the same in the case of other foreign languages.¹ If these courses are as successful as they promise to be, they may provide an answer to the problem. The role of the language teacher is, therefore, likely to change very soon. It will develop in the direction indicated in the American 'Trump Plan'.² Teachers must be prepared to accept this change, for they will become either counsellors and programmers or mere child and machine minders.

Simple or Progressive?

G. HEATHCOTE

AS ADULT STUDENTS progress with the language from the beginners' class they meet a succession of tenses, each with a rule for its use that is, of necessity, rather simplified. By the time the student reaches an 'intermediate' standard, the rules become more complex, but the tenses remain isolated entities, each with its own rules. In particular, little is done in most course books to bring progressive tenses as a group in relation to simple tenses, in order to give the student a picture of what a progressive tense is, or what a simple tense is, quite apart from the aspects of time which govern whether it should be present, past, perfect, etc. The student has to learn several rules for the use of the simple and progressive form of each tense. Unfortunately the majority of students find it difficult to carry in their heads a picture of twenty pages or so of rules, so they usually preserve a selection of those rules which they learned first, combined with others that took their fancy.

There is, of course, no short way to the correct use of tenses; practice and reading are essential. The way might be shortened, however, if students could be given an overall view of the tenses, a framework expressed in terms which they can, with help, understand and apply.

This framework will be concerned with general principles rather than particular rules, and these principles must be 'predictive'. They must be such that a student may produce good

¹This is putting a very serious brake on the progress of foreign language teaching in the primary schools of this country.

²J. L. Trump and D. Bayham, *Focus on change*, Chicago 1961.

English by applying them. It is no use, for example, laying down as a principle that the progressive tenses express 'duration', for when students will produce incorrect sentences like *I was wearing short trousers when I was a boy*.

A start for this framework may be found in a distinction made by R. A. Close in a previous article,¹ where he suggests that the present simple tense is used when we think of an act or a series of acts as something whole or permanent, whereas we use the progressive tense when thinking of an act or series of acts as something in process, incomplete and temporary.

R. A. Close, in his analysis, also distinguishes between a series of acts and individual acts, but as the explanations for series and for particular acts follow the same lines, this distinction need not be stressed in the initial presentation. The present tense may therefore be presented in this way.

Simple

Progressive

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>A1. Complete acts (including acts seen as a whole).
 <i>Jones gets up, looks out of the window, and sighs.</i>
 <i>Aeneas rescues his father.</i>
 (Picture heading).</p> | <p>B1. Incomplete acts or activities.
 <i>I am writing.</i>
 <i>Outside the sun is shining.</i></p> |
| <p>A2. Permanent State or Activity.
 <i>Water changes to steam at 100 C.</i>
 <i>He smokes too much.</i></p> | <p>B2. Temporary State or Activity.
 <i>He is smoking too much these days.</i></p> |

It is important to note that categories (1) and (2) are not mutually exclusive, but different aspects of the same thing.² The difference lies not between A1 and A2, but between A(1 and 2) and B(1 and 2).

Other matters fit into this scheme. Verbs such as *want*, *remember*, *love*, *smell*, etc., which are not normally used in progressive forms, will be found by their nature to belong under A1 or A2.

Our likes and dislikes, mental processes, and the qualities of things are usually regarded as fixed (A2); they are not usually thought of as being in the process of formation. When this is not the case, when our likes, etc., are half-formed, they belong under B1 or B2, and we may use the progressive forms.

E.g. (i) *How are you liking the play?*—said in the interval.

(ii) *How many of us are there? Smith, Jones, Brown, and who else?*

You are forgetting yourself. (A temporary lapse).

¹E.L.T., XIII, 2.

²For example, although B2 is labelled temporary, B1 also has the idea of limited time. Compare *he writes novels* and *he is writing a novel*.

We may also note that the construction

always
he is *.....ing*
forever

is often used in a way that suggests something less permanent than the simple tense would.¹ Thus *He always comes late* is a statement of fact, and, as such, final, but *He is always coming late* may carry the implication *I wish he wouldn't*—that is, we hope that it is not a permanent characteristic.

The real advantage of this presentation is that the past and perfect tenses can be presented in a similar way.

Simple	Progressive
A3. <i>Complete Actions.</i> I got up, washed, ate, and went out.	B3. <i>Incomplete Actions.</i> I was eating when he came.
A4. <i>Permanent State or Activity.</i> He always drank too much.	B4. <i>Temporary State or Activity.</i> I was forgetting.
	B5. <i>If there is greater interest in the activity than in whether it was completed.</i> John was reading while Mary was sewing. I was writing letters all morning yesterday. What was John doing all the time Mary was sewing?

In the case of the past tenses, the temporary aspect of the progressive (B4) need not be stressed in teaching, as it is difficult to distinguish from the use of the progressive for incomplete actions (B3). Another usage now becomes important; one where we use the progressive when we are more interested in the fact that an activity was in progress than in whether the activity was completed (B5). The same usage no doubt exists in the present tense but is then equivalent to the use for incomplete activities (B1).

Some authorities give different explanations for sentences of the (B5) type.² Some state that the past progressive is used in this kind of sentence because the time is not defined. The disadvantage of this explanation is that it does not account for a sentence such as 'I was writing letters *all the morning*', or even 'I was writing

¹Similarly *He is being friendly* represents a 'temporary activity', *He is friendly* a characteristic.

²R. A. Close does not recognize (B5), but regards the simple tense as the primary form of the verb and the progressive as a specially emphatic form to be used only when there is a stress on some form of incompletion. See *English Usage*, Ch. VII.

from ten till eleven', which sound perfectly correct, but where the time is defined. On the other hand in sentences like

*I sometimes went to the bar or
She wore a hat whenever it rained*

the time is only very loosely defined, yet we use the simple tense. Consideration of whether the time is defined cannot therefore help the student to produce the right tense.

Another explanation sometimes given for the (B5) type of sentence is that the progressive tense is used to suggest that the activity was uninterrupted. But this does not explain why we can say 'I was writing letters all day yesterday' but not 'I was writing six letters all day yesterday'. Even where the activity was clearly uninterrupted we abandon the progressive tense in favour of the simple tense when a numerical object appears in the sentence. It seems then that the question of the uninterrupted nature of the activity is not a crucial factor in our choice of tense.

The perfect tenses may be presented in the same way as the past tenses.

Simple

- A6. *Complete activity.*
I have read this book.
- A7. *Permanent State or Activity.*
I have always said that . . .

Progressive

- B6. *Incomplete activity.*
I have been reading this book for months (—I wonder when I shall finish it).
- B7. *Temporary activity.*
I have been spending a few days at my aunt's.
- B8. *Greater interest in activity than in its completion.*
'You look hot.'
'Yes, I have been playing football.'
'I'm so tired; I've been running round the town all day'.

The progressive perfect is treated rather skimpily in many course books. Its use to express an incomplete activity (B6) is explained in detail, but other uses may be omitted.

An explanation sometimes given for the present perfect progressive, as for the past progressive, is that it expresses uninterrupted activity. On this explanation, in the sentence

I have been working hard all day

the progressive tense gives the idea that the work has been uninterrupted. But it can be argued that if the work has really been uninterrupted, and one cannot regard that as a perfectly literal expression, this impression arises from the phrase 'all day' as much as from the tense. To my ear 'I have worked hard all day' sounds equally uninterrupted.

Jespersen says that we use the present perfect progressive to express something that has recently happened.

'Next, the expanded perfect is used without any indication of duration, but the implication is "recently", "just now". Thus when Darwin writes in a letter "I have been making some little trifling observations which have interested and perplexed me much", he means "recently".'

A Modern English Grammar IV 13:2(4).

However, it is impossible to distinguish between the perfect simple and progressive on this ground. Thus when we come to an instance such as 'I have recently drunk two glasses of wine' we could not say 'I have been drinking two glasses of wine'. It is true that we *often* use this tense for a recent activity, but, equally, we often use the present perfect simple for something that has recently happened. Both perfect tenses, simple and progressive, tend to be used when there is an idea of a result in the present.

It may also be true that the progressive perfect, as it is used for activities that are incomplete, comes for this reason to be used for activities that are 'recent' more often the perfect simple does, but this can be of no more than incidental interest. The important fact is that, as the perfect simple can be and often is used for 'recent' activities (e.g. 'He has just gone out', not 'He has been going out'), a consideration of 'recentness' cannot help a student to choose between the simple tense and the progressive.

In my experience, students have not found it difficult to take the rules (A3, 4, B3, 4, 5) elaborated above for the past tense and apply them to the present perfect. The third group in the progressive perfect (B8) may conveniently be omitted in introducing the tense, but it is necessary for any full explanation, if the student, in answer to such a question as 'Why are you so tired?' is to be able to reply 'I have been riding' ('I have ridden' sounds very unnatural here).

The class could study the difference in the use of tenses in the following exchanges.

Is the fire all right?

Yes, I have put some coal on.¹

Why are your hands so dirty?

I have been putting coal on the fire.

In the first case we use the perfect simple because we are interested in whether the action has been effected. In the second case, although the activity is now complete, we are less interested in this than in the activity itself.

Thus if we are in a bus which sways from one side of the road

¹Perfect simple sounds better than perfect progressive here, however recent the action was.

to the other, we may say 'Has the driver been drinking?' (*not* 'Has the driver drunk?'). Why do we use the progressive form here? It is not to suggest any idea of duration. Nor that the drinking was uninterrupted. Nor is it because the drinking was recent (for we would not say 'Has the driver drunk recently?'). We surely use the progressive form because we are interested in whether this activity has taken place. We are interested not in the amount drunk or whether he finished his drink, but just in the fact of his drinking.

Clearly there is much more to be said and taught about tenses, but the purpose of this article is to formulate a distinction between the progressive and simple forms of the verb. That distinction, if accepted, may easily be applied to the past perfect and future tenses. There are other uses of the tense considered, e.g. the frequent use of the progressive for descriptive background, and the use of the progressive to suggest casualness or indeterminateness, which may be taught as application of the main principles. The above principles may be of some use in interpreting English writers, but it will be borne in mind that native English speakers make no precise formulation of these uses. They do not receive instruction on these matters at school; they are a psychological matter, a matter of feeling, and it should cause no surprise if feelings at times appear illogical. But it is not important that native speakers can allow themselves to seem grammatically inconsistent. What students require is an indication of the range of ideas which may be expressed and confidence that in attempting to express these ideas they will produce sentences that sound English; an aim which will be achieved more easily if the ideas that students are led to associate with a particular form of the verb apply only to that form and are not subject to qualification. It is hoped that the above formulation will help in this respect and so be found relatively easy to comprehend and remember.

Forthcoming Articles

Among articles to be published in the next three issues of *E.L.T.* (January, May, October 1966) are: Transformation and Sequence in Pronunciation Teaching (A. Baird), Is Translation a Good Language Test? (O. Berggren), Teaching the Passive (D. Byrne), What Qualifications Do We Need for the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language? (R. A. Close), Some Problems of Pronunciation Faced by Swahili-Speaking Students (A. A. Farsi), 'If' (H. V. George), Hard Facts (J. Higgins), Blackboard Work for Presenting Tense Usages (A. S. Hornby), Teaching English in the West Indies (J. Allen Jones), English Prepositions (C. W. Kreidler), Vocabulary Problems for Spanish Learners (R. A. K. Macaulay), The Agent in the Passive Construction (L. Mihailović), Learn to Learn (M. Morris), A New Way of Looking at Projected Pictures (B. Richards), Language Laboratory Teaching (J. Roemmele), Direct Questions in the Teaching of Conversation (J. C. Romero), Language Without Words (M. West).

The Substitution Table

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THE SUBSTITUTION TABLE is an established teaching device, perhaps rather taken for granted. This article attempts a review of its linguistic context, its formal aspects, and its use in the classroom.

Our first need is a specimen. Here is part of a table presenting a very common construction:

He She Charles The mechanic	intended decided wanted refused	to	leave go start arrive	early punctually at six o'clock the following day	.
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Table 1

Taking any item from the column on the left, then any item from each subsequent column in turn, we make an acceptable sentence. The number of different sentences one can construct from a table is calculated by multiplying the numbers of alternatives in the various columns; in the specimen, $4 \times 4 \times 1 \times 4 \times 4 \times 1$, or 256.

The substitution process

A substitution table visibly exemplifies the concept of substitutability: that a sentence has 'places' from start to finish (from left to right), and that at various 'places' other grammatically controlled items could take the place of the item already there.

When we construct a substitution table, we multiply the pattern of an originating sentence, deriving the substitutable items by *association*. Suppose that the model sentence of Table 1 is given: *He intended to leave early*. We think of other subject-place words or word-groups: *I, She, The mechanic*, etc. Substitutes for *intended* then come to mind: *decided, wanted, refused*, etc. The third column has one item only, and it cannot be replaced. It is the pivot, the 'structural word' of the construction, and keeps its identity when we reduce the table to a formula: Subject + finite verb + *to* + verb stem. Substitution resumes in the fourth and fifth columns.

In this way, the various 'places' are represented by vertical columns of alternatives. At the same time, the table presents horizontally a set of sentences formed from consecutive items.

That is, a substitution table exhibits the twin aspects of language which de Saussure took to be the substance of linguistic study.

Presentation for analysis and for practice

Now the visual presentation necessarily *includes* the aspect of substitutability; but it *accentuates* this aspect if the columns are separated by vertical lines, as they are in Table 1, and in many published tables.

In a grammar lesson this may be what we want, to emphasize the formal similarity of items in a column, and the column to column relationships. However, if we want the table simply for practice, we realize that the lines are visual *bars* to reading fluency, and dispense with them. The previous table now appears as:

He	intended		leave	early
She	decided	to	go	punctually
Charles	wanted		start	at six o'clock
The mechanic	refused		arrive	the following day

Table 2

More presentation features

It may happen that we wish to include an item without making its use obligatory. We do this by bracketing it:

What	do	you they	(usually)	do	in the evening in the summer at the weekend	?
------	----	-------------	-----------	----	---	---

Table 3

We may wish to indicate alternative places as well as alternative items. For instance, we may be dealing with two adverb positions. Numbering the columns allows us to give the appropriate instruction:

1	2*	3	4*	5
We	often	go there	every day	
They	rarely	eat fried food	regularly	
	hardly ever	have it	very often	
			very rarely	

* Use an item *either* from Column 2 *or* from Column 4.

Table 4

Often it is economical to bring into one column items which, while comparable in function, are not actually substitutable. Before *intended*, any subject pronoun may appear: *I intended . . . You intended . . .* etc. Before the comparable *was*, only the first and

third person singular pronouns may be used; yet it would seem unreasonable to write out a table twice so as to include both *was* and *were* in our practice material. The difficulty is overcome by placing a horizontal bar to indicate that substitution is allowed only among items on the same side of the bar, or, if need be, between bars:

1	2	3	4	5	6
He	was	able	to	come	.
She		unable			
<hr/>		sure		etc.	
We	were	etc.			
They					

Table 5

The horizontal bar may appear in more than one column:

1	2	3	4	5	6
What	do	you	do	on rainy days	?
<hr/>			go	on Saturdays	
Where		(usually)		on Saturday afternoons	
				on fine afternoons	

Table 6

In this way *What* is confined to association with *do*, *Where* with *go*.

Extension of tables in this manner should not be overdone. For instance, it would not be wise to illustrate the use of a tense with a single table for positive and negative statements and questions. This is how such a table would appear:

He	intended decided wanted refused		to	leave go start arrive	early punctually at six on Sunday	.
I						
	didn't	intend decide want refuse				
	did not					
Did	he					
Didn't		I				?

Table 7

Form and meaning

Table 7 is clumsy, an immediate practical objection. But it is objectionable for a theoretical reason too. It gives the impression that the relationship between statement and question is entirely formal. This is the kind of over-simplification which in school courses 'derives', transformationally, *Have we water in our cups?*, *Had he his hat?*, and the like from quite ordinary sentences; and

proceeds to drill these absurdities to the same extent as the ordinary sentences. Table 7 does similar injustice to the language when it parallels *He intended to go/He didn't intend to go* and *He decided to go/He didn't decide to go*. This last sentence is probably as rare as *Had he his hat?* It does more than negate the preceding one; for it contains the implications of distinction between *He didn't decide to go* and *He decided not to go*.

Of course, the negative question word-order and the parallel exclamation have characteristic intonations which fit characteristic contexts and go together with characteristic vocabulary. It is tempting to wish to establish several constructions with a small supply of words, feeling that one is concentrating on essentials (the 'structures'), and the substitution table offers maximum temptation. It is a false economy.

The interdependence of form and content may be shown with the substitution table pattern of Table 1, Subject + finite verb + *to* + verb stem. The table appears below without formal change, but with different items in Column 4:

1	2	3	4	5
He	intended		do	
She	decided		discuss	it
The mechanic	refused	to	consider	.
I	wanted		examine	

Table 8

Suppose now we extend Column 2 with *hesitated, started, ceased* . . . The construction remains unchanged. However, suppose we add *stopped* or *paused* . . . ? We discover that *He started to consider it* and *He stopped to consider it* do not differ by one word in one place; they are so different that we suspect a different construction; and indeed we find we can make a distinct table:

1	2	3	4	5
He	stopped		discuss	
She	stayed	(so as to)	do	it
The mechanic	paused	to	consider	
I	lingered	in order to	examine	

Table 9

Under Column 3 in Table 9 appear items which could not appear under the same column number in Table 8, and we may conclude that the *to* is not the same. Moreover, items from the first three columns in Table 8 form groups, which could be used to follow up previous reference: *I intended to, She refused to*. In Table 9 any break would have to occur after Column 2: *We stopped, We*

paused. It seems that in Table 8 the *to* is linked with the preceding finite verb of Column 2, whereas in Table 9 a different *to* is linked with the following non-finite plain stem of Column 3.

A presentation refinement

If we do not use vertical lines, substitution tables may be made to show to some extent the kind of segmentation which is implicit: in the present examples the *to* may be moved left or right into physical nearness with the items with which it is linked; and may share a column number:

1	2		3	4
He	intended		discuss	
She	decided	to	consider	it
I	started		examine	.

Table 10

1	2		3	4
He	stopped		discuss	
She	walked over	to	consider	it
I	paused		examine	.

Table 11

This is as far as substitution tables can go in indication of relationships among items horizontally, that is, in temporal succession. The paradox of the substitution table is that the *presentation* gives prominence to the vertical columns, but its main use is for the production of words in sequential relationship.

Unfortunately the paradox is not merely an intriguing observation. When a teacher has set out a table like Table 1, he has, knowingly or otherwise, suggested a consistent relationship among the items of Columns 2, 3, and 4. Let us suppose a learner has registered the relationship. Subsequently he encounters one item from column 2 followed by a different link word: *He decided that . . .* With the association already there from the vertical columning, and the two patterns now side by side, we cannot be surprised at the extension: *He decided to . . . He decided that he . . . He intended to . . . He intended that he . . . He wanted to . . . He wanted that he . . .* Nothing in our presentation has enabled the learner to know that whereas in *He decided that he . . .* the second *he* is most likely identical with the first, in *He intended that he . . .* the second *he* is most unlikely to be identical with the first, and that *He wanted that he . . .* is not acceptable English. Since the vertical associations do not enable one to know the horizontal associations, the learner still has to know for each verb as an individual vocabulary item whether or not it can be followed by

to + stem (*I liked to do it. I disliked . . .*), by stem + -ing (*He liked to sing. He liked singing. He wished to sing. He wished . . .*), by a clause, by a plain stem.

The substitution table gives copious experience of particular items in particular contexts; its appearance should not mislead us into thinking that it does more than it can do. Adequate coverage of any language area requires a large number of overlapping substitution tables, and a fairly extensive vocabulary.

The substitution table in use

The foregoing paragraphs have shown the theoretical interest of the substitution table and the degree of flexibility in presentation one can attain. Its unique advantage to the teacher is that it allows the production of large numbers of similar, and above all, correct sentences; its weakness, that it has small built-in incentive. In practical use of the substitution table, we must exploit its advantage and attempt to compensate for its deficiency.

The private student

A good advanced student one assumes to be motivated by previous progress, to have persistence, and to be willing to keep alert. Advice to him will be directed to countering any tendency to mechanical construction. He can be exhorted to be conscious of the meaning of each sentence he forms. He can be advised to stop at intervals, to try to recall and write the items from this or that column; or to check in the dictionary the meanings of all the words and phrases; or to imagine contexts in which each sentence could occur.

Classroom use—construction

The apparent simplicity of the substitution table should not tempt a teacher to try constructing one impromptu in the classroom: he will indeed be lucky if he escapes discomfiture. It is really difficult to keep one's attention simultaneously on the blackboard, the pupils, and *all* the sentences made possible when one adds an item, for the acceptability of the addition depends not only on its being formally suitable but also on whether its meaning allows it to fit into context: something that cannot be assumed, but must be checked. It is better to do the checking oneself than have thirty or forty pairs of eyes doing it in class! The exception to going with one's table prepared beforehand is that with an advanced class it can be instructive to make the elaboration of a table a class undertaking; the teacher receiving suggestions and considering them, with the class, for inclusion in a table developing on the blackboard. In this way, both the work of construction and the amusement at any mistakes are shared.

Classroom use—the blackboard

It is an elementary observation, often neglected, that a substitution table *appears* on the blackboard. The teacher may intend it for oral practice, but ought to be aware of it as a *visual* presentation.

Obviously, it should be well spaced: it is annoying to leave a margin on the left, and then find there is insufficient room for the final column, which has somehow to be squashed in. Until a teacher has an eye for the placing of a table as a whole, it is a good plan to estimate the lengths of the longest columns and put guide marks on the blackboard before beginning to write. Very long items may have to be excluded from a blackboard version of a table, and a table from a book will probably need to be abridged. The teacher must not hesitate about excluding items. In blackboard work, legibility and distinctness of column separation must have priority.

A visual impression is left with every sentence formed from a table, even when the sentence is spoken. It follows that learners should see the full stop (or question or exclamation mark), which requires, and deserves, a column to itself: it requires one, for the teacher's example is particularly likely to get followed when this is unwanted, and it deserves one, for it is an intonation guide.

Classroom use—practice procedure

Once the table is on the blackboard, the first requirement is that the learners become familiar with it; they should not be asked to construct sentences until they can do so without halting at the columns. The teacher must first overcome the interference of the vertical patterning with the production of unbroken sentences. He begins, reading slowly and choosing sentences which are easy to follow, and gradually increases speed and range of choice. When he judges that the table is fairly well known, he calls out a good pupil. As he reads, the pupil follows his sentences across the blackboard with a pointer. After more practice with pupils following, and further increase of speed, he appoints a pupil to take his place. Ten to twenty minutes' oral practice is enough.

There are variant techniques. For instance, placing a pointer on one word and reading aloud another word the teacher controls two columns, and has a hand free to indicate who is to make the sentence, the selected pupil having freedom to choose among items in uncontrolled columns. This can be a very lively exercise. Another way is for the teacher to read a sentence, then say any substitutable word from any column, at the same time pointing to a pupil, who has to incorporate that word into the sentence. The pupil then adds his 'own' word, immediately he has spoken the changed sentence, and points to another pupil:

Teacher: *He refused to go.* (pointing to a pupil) *leave*

Pupil: *He refused to leave.* (pointing to another pupil) *decided.*

Second pupil: *He decided to leave.* (pointing to a third pupil) *start, and so on.*

Varied practice techniques are appreciated, especially in classes where substitution tables are regularly used, and already 'known' tables, in duplicated or printed form, are frequently practised for a few minutes each.

Classroom use—written work

The substitution table permits the formation of large numbers of *correct* sentences, so there should be no hesitation over written assignments. In many of the world's classrooms, the amount of written work the learners do is governed, not by what they need, but by what the teacher can mark. With substitution tables, there is no need for marking; a very short time is required for supervision of what goes on. If sets of tables are used, the teacher can, at any time, send a learner who has not mastered some feature of the work to the appropriate table, and say cheerfully 'Fifty!' It is necessary, however, that the teacher should explain frequently and carefully why such written work is set, and how it should be done. Otherwise the learner may work on a substitution table as though it were an imposition, copying so many items from the first column, then from the second, and so on. It has to be explained that this is a waste of time; that the only reason for the written work is need for the repeated production of sentences after a pattern, so that the pattern is remembered. The learner has to realize that he is doing the assignment in order to learn for himself, not to produce a result for the teacher.

It is no small advantage either, to have in one's desk the means of keeping an individual pupil or a small group of pupils *safely* occupied for any odd amount of time. Spare tables, duplicating known patterns, but using a more advanced, or more amusing, vocabulary are an excellent investment.

Many teachers dislike substitution tables, assuming them to be difficult to handle, mechanical, and dull. A substitution table does need careful construction, and careful presentation. It is a mistake, however, to think that substitution table drill need ever be dull; on the contrary, it is indeed very easy to keep a whole class alert and active. The teacher's voice being hardly used, once the table is familiar, pupil participation is near maximum; there is virtually no interruption for correction; and all in all essential repetition could hardly be made more brisk, stimulating, and satisfying.

Some Problems in the Change-over from Swahili to English as the Medium of Instruction¹

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LITERACY IN SWAHILI is achieved before English learning is begun and has reached a reasonably high level by the fourth year of school in Tanzania, when English begins to be used as the medium of instruction. English learning is begun in the third year of school, after Swahili—to many pupils a second language—has been used as the medium of instruction for only two years. The textbook used for English learning is the *New Oxford English Course for East Africa*. The objects of English instruction and of the use of English as the medium of instruction are twofold: to enable pupils from primary schools to learn for themselves from books written in English, and to enable pupils selected for further education to profit from the courses offered in secondary schools, trade schools, teacher training colleges, and other institutions of further education where English is the medium.

In all that follows those who are familiar with the progress reports of the Nuffield Research Project into the Teaching and Use of English in African Schools will readily perceive how much dependence has been placed on those valuable papers. They are essential reading for anyone seriously interested in language teaching of any kind in East Africa.

There is a distinction between using English as the medium of instruction and using English words, even numerous English words, in vernacular teaching. The teacher who in a vernacular lesson talks about 'pistils' and 'stamens', and illustrates and explains the things to which these terms refer, will find that his pupils accept these terms as rather odd Swahili words; they will be put into a noun class—and take all the concords and enclitics of that class. A student at a teacher training college who happened to be interested in photography said to one of his friends: 'Niliharibu films zangu, kwa sababu developer haitoshi na siwezi kuzifix sawasawa.' This student obviously thought in Swahili, though he used English terms. In the same way it is not uncommon

¹The views expressed in this article are the personal views of the author and in no way constitute any kind of statement on behalf of the Ministry of Education in Tanzania.

to hear native speakers of English who have been living in East Africa for quite a short time referring to 'panga' and 'shambas', and to 'going on safari' (when they mean any kind of journey—not necessarily a big game hunting expedition) and these people equally obviously think in English though they use Swahili terms.

Officially, 'English becomes the medium of instruction in all subjects in Standard VII (the seventh year of education) but a gradual introduction of English as the medium may be begun in the second term of Standard VI'. Many teachers find it very difficult to know what exactly has to be done to make the change-over from Swahili to English-medium instruction a 'gradual' one. Some of the best suggestions I have seen on what might constitute gradual introduction are made in the Nuffield Research Project progress reports mentioned above. For example, the subject in which the change-over might best and most usefully be made first is probably physical education. The teacher does the talking, the structures are commands (always accompanied by demonstration), the vocabulary—parts of the body, numbers, left, right, etc.—is introduced very early in the prescribed textbook for English, and there is considerable repetition and drill which serves to fix the English of this context without difficulty. Arithmetic, often used as the subject in which the 'gradual' change is made, is shown not to be suitable—there is more to be said about this later in discussing another related problem.

A common, and a justified, criticism in the past has been that the textbooks used in the class where the change-over to English as the medium of instruction takes place are written in English which is far too difficult. It would seem that the position is improving. The texts recommended for teaching science have a structure level approximately equivalent to that of Book Four of the *New Oxford English Course*, which is used in the year previous to that in which the change-over to English medium instruction takes place. This means that the science books are well within the pupils' capacity. The geography textbook, as it stands, is very difficult linguistically, but a revision has recently been completed and should be available to schools shortly. The history textbook is also difficult. The structure level of the mathematics textbook is about the same as that of the science books, and therefore appropriate.

Two factors complicate the whole problem of textbooks. It is frequently assumed that lavish use of pictures makes the textbook easier to understand, but one of the commonest remarks made by teacher-trainers in Tanganyika is that pupils, and teachers, have great difficulty in interpreting the pictures. The unfamiliarity with pictures which is so widespread among primary school children in virtually all developing nations cannot but reduce the

effectiveness of any textbook, like those for history and geography mentioned above, which depends heavily on picture interpretation as a teaching technique.

The second complicating factor is the difficulty of particular notions which have to be put across. It is evident that careful thought needs to be given to whether, say, the concepts involved in studying the production of oil are altogether suitable for the crucial year when English becomes the medium of instruction. In the same way certain historical and mathematical concepts—for instance of time or speed—are inherently difficult, and the multiplying effect of difficult language puts them quite beyond the grasp of the pupils struggling to master them.

Many primary school teachers are not at all happy that their mastery of English is adequate either to allow them to express themselves clearly and vividly enough in speech—especially in a story-telling subject like history—or to allow them to comprehend fully the teacher's reference books and handbooks from which they must work. The eagerness with which teachers seek places on up-grading or refresher courses is strong evidence of this. Their lack of full mastery of English prevents them from being able to introduce as much supplementary material as they ought and makes the process of education less effective than it might otherwise be. This is not, however, only a matter of English but of the general lack of a rich background of vicarious or real experience.

Where the teacher's mastery of English *is* reasonable we may encounter another problem. He may fail to distinguish between what he needs to know and has been taught in his training college, and what his pupils need to know and ought to be taught by him. This leads to jargonizing and a showing-off of knowledge which goes clean over the pupils' heads—though it impresses them enormously.

Most locally recruited teachers are aware of the need to simplify their speech, and of course their lack of mastery of English often forces them into doing so willy-nilly, but there are now a number of expatriate native teachers of English teaching in the upper forms of primary schools, and to them the simplification does not come so easily.

The pupils themselves, in making the change-over from Swahili to English as the medium of instruction, seem to find problems in matters of pronunciation, structure, vocabulary, and understanding.

In the majority of cases pronunciation difficulties come through the teacher whose use of an unusual or not quite acceptable pronunciation leads to a failure to understand. This is especially true with proper names—there are some very strange renderings of

'Ohio' and 'Illinois' in circulation. An example occurred with a group of expatriate teachers. Their pronunciation of 'lever' [levər] instead of [li:və] was so strange to the pupils that it was not until they saw the word written that they recognized it and knew it for a familiar item.

Structural difficulties usually involve sentences of great length, involving large numbers of modification structures, many complex infinitival phrases, and participial constructions. This kind of thing occurs most often in the writing rather than in the speech which the pupils encounter. A fairly typical example is this sentence from the history textbook referred to above: 'Apart from the religious work of conversion and the building of churches in areas where the campaign had proved successful, towns were founded where freed slaves could be received and trained for work in the ministry itself or in industry, agriculture, and domestic service.' This sentence contains forty-four words against an average sentence length of 19 words in the *N.O.E.C.* Book VI, used in Standard VIII, a year after the pupils are meant to have made sense out of the sentence quoted. The pupil finds himself in a maze through which he cannot find his way. The basic pattern with which he is familiar, is lost in the undergrowth of verbiage and the pupil's mind boggles.

The same kind of situation occurs with vocabulary. A certain number of new items are essential to describe the new notions which are being taught, but often the proliferation of new words would seem to be purely gratuitous. In the sentence quoted above fourteen of the words are likely to be unfamiliar in the sense in which they are used there, and of these seven do not even come within the range of the General Service English List. How much easier it would have been to have written 'had *been* successful', but then the simplification of a sentence of this kind is as much a matter of structure as of vocabulary, to continue suggesting alternative words would give a false impression of the overall difficulty.

The greatest danger inherent in the intellectual difficulties facing pupils is that of verbalism. The pupil learns to make the right noises but does not really comprehend. For example, to the question 'Where is oil likely to be found?' we get the pat answer 'In an anticline'. 'What is oil formed from?' 'The decomposed bodies of innumerable minute organisms', or whatever it may be. This is the greater danger in any educational system which uses a second language as the medium of instruction in primary schools. Young minds need to be awakened, and familiarized with at least the rudimentary techniques of learning; instead, there is mere verbalism. The lack of a rich English language background of out-of-class experience makes this problem all the more acute and it

would seem important that every effort should be made to avoid this particular use of language without meaning.

Perhaps the greatest part of the problem of changing over to English as the medium of instruction is that little is known about what the real difficulties are. There may be profound psychological, developmental, linguistic, social, and educational factors involved.

How do children form concepts? Do the concepts formed in the first language interfere with second language concepts? If they do, to what extent? For example, if the child learns that a particular concept is symbolized by the sound 'kiti', what is the effect on his intellectual development when he is taught that not all the items which he has learned to call 'kiti' are subsumed under the seemingly parallel term 'chair'; that, for instance, a three-legged object for sitting on with no back rest is called 'stool'? Is the apparent relationship between multilingualism and lack of literary genius a causal one?

Does the age of the child have any effect on the ease with which he may transfer from learning in one language to learning in another? What age is the best age for doing this? In history learning I am told the age factor is quite important. Children of the age of thirteen or fourteen have apparently reached a sufficiently mature stage to be able to form a concept of time which enables them to benefit from the idea of a 'time line', while younger children have not, and the language in which the children are taught seems to have nothing to do with it. How then does language enter into this situation, if it does?

The complexities of the linguistic problem may be gauged by considering the special case of mathematics. I have said that the structure level of the textbook prescribed for the seventh year in Tanzanian primary schools is about right. The background and contexts of its material are also well suited to East Africa, and the vocabulary is nothing like as difficult as that of the History textbook. Yet even the most simple mathematical statements in the two languages of English and Swahili can mean very different things. For example, the multiplication tables have always provided difficulty for Swahili-speaking children, mainly I believe because the translators of the Swahili version of the arithmetic textbook used in the first years of primary schools did not perceive the difference between 'mbili mara tatu' (which equals $2+2+2$) and 'two times three' (which equals $3+3$). This kind of difficulty extends into the multitude of ways of expressing a single mathematical notion. For example $4-2$ may be 'Four minus two', 'Four take away two', 'By how many is four greater than two?', 'By how many is two less than four?', 'Subtract two from four', 'By how many does four exceed two?', etc.

Then there is the kind of problem presented by the changes of

intonation and stress pattern which make 'The square root of a hundred and sixty nine over four' appear as

$$\sqrt{\frac{169}{4}} \quad \text{or} \quad \sqrt{100 + \frac{69}{4}} \quad \text{or} \quad \sqrt{\frac{169}{4}}$$

as Professor R. Quirk points out in *The Use of English* (p. 177).

Any elementary comparison of the structure of English and the structure of Swahili shows that the greatest single structure difficulty for Swahili speakers learning English is *comparison* in all its forms. The more elementary comparative structures are introduced before pupils reach Standard VII, but this is a very different thing from saying that they have mastered them, and at least a modicum of mastery is essential for clear understanding of almost any mathematical problem.

Among the social problems to be investigated are the prestige value of English over against Swahili, what position English is likely to be forced into for political reasons, and what the actual results of such pressures are. What is likely to produce the best results from an economic point of view? Can a country afford the expense of a change in language policy immediately, or in the long run? All these questions are of the kind to which answers are needed in almost every developing country and some of them would call for lengthy research. It may be that to some the answers will never be found.

The final problem takes the form of a dilemma and involves questioning one of the fundamental assumptions which underlie the problems already discussed in this article. This is that the change-over takes place in the seventh year of school when the children are about thirteen or fourteen. The dilemma is this: if the change-over is made too early the result is parrot learning, mental confusion, and lack of real understanding, and yet the longer English can be used for something real, rather than just learned in the somewhat artificial atmosphere of the English lesson for future use, the better will the pupils' knowledge of the language be. What the real answer to this may be it is impossible to tell without a great deal more information than is at present available, but there can be little doubt that if the money and the people can be found to continue work like that which has already been done by the Makerere Nuffield Research Project, practical answers can be found, not only to this dilemma, but also to many of the other problems outlined in this article.

An Analysis of the Sentence Patterns of Conversational English

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WHEREAS AN ANALYSIS of the sentence patterns of written English has been accomplished and several attempts made to convert them into teaching units,¹ no complete analysis of the conversational patterns of English has yet, to my knowledge, appeared in print. The analysis presented here, incomplete and rudimentary as it no doubt is, is offered in the belief that 'half a loaf is better than no bread'. This particular linguistic loaf has been a long time baking. As long ago as 1935 J. R. Firth wrote: 'What we need are more accurately determined linguistic categories for the principal types of sentences and of usage we employ in our various social roles . . . Throughout the period of growth we are progressively incorporated into our social organization, and the chief condition and means of that incorporation is learning to say what the other fellow expects us to say under the given circumstances.'²

Conversation, that is to say, is part of social behaviour and is to a considerable degree predictable: 'Conversation is much more of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think. Once someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context and you are not free just to say what you please.'³

If social behaviour were not largely predictable, the science of psychology would dissolve into the investigation of a mass of unrelated psychic phenomena. As it is, we are aware that there is both a regularity about our habits and a high degree of conformity within the social situation. What it boils down to in linguistic terms is that we have to learn to say the right thing to the right person on the right occasion. And that, as any foreign student of English will confirm, is not an easy matter.

During the thirty years since Firth wrote, piecemeal attempts have been made to analyse some features of conversational English, and many teachers have been impelled by force of cir-

¹A. S. Hornby's *A Guide to Patterns and Usage in English* (O.U.P.) is probably the best known. It is worked out into teaching units in his three books on *The Teaching of Structural Words and Sentence Patterns* (O.U.P.).

²Ch. 3, 'The Technique of Semantics', in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951* (O.U.P., 1957).

³op. cit., p. 28. This article will repay careful study.

cumstances to teach the subject in some form or other, but knowing full well that they were handicapped by lack of proper evidence. The collecting of evidence is, indeed, a major problem. As David Abercrombie has said: 'There is really only one way of obtaining *genuine* conversation so that we can inspect and analyse it, and that is by rather a dubious technique: surreptitious, clandestine recording. Only in the last ten years have machines been available that will do this adequately; but there is now no difficulty about it. No *mechanical* difficulty, that is: there is perhaps a moral difficulty. If a recording is to be of genuinely spontaneous conversation, those taking part in it must not suspect they are being recorded; so if you do record them, you are practising a deception on them. Of course, you can tell them afterwards; but there is still something distasteful about the procedure.¹

C. C. Fries was apparently not troubled by such scruples when he was collecting evidence for his book, *The Structure of English*: 'The materials which furnished the linguistic evidence for the analysis and discussions of the book were primarily some fifty hours of mechanically recorded conversations on a great range of topics—conversations in which the participants were entirely unaware that their speech was being recorded.'²

There seems to be one unobjectionable source of evidence—the unscripted, or virtually unscripted, television conversation, interview, discussion, commentary, and the like. In some cases these programmes are rehearsed, but in the majority of cases genuine conversational habits emerge. They have the additional advantage that the viewer can see the gestures and conversational mannerisms that accompany the spoken word. I at any rate have used them as evidence, and, in addition, the recollection of my own and other people's conversational habits, jotted down as soon as possible afterwards.

The patterns of conversational English do not always fit into the conventional framework of the sentence. Any definition of *sentence* for the purposes of a descriptive analysis of conversational English must include single words, phrases, and even single phonemes: '... /a:/, ou/, /u:/ may be functionally complete in themselves as exclamatory sentences in certain contexts of situation. Foreigners speaking English rarely understand the exclamatory use of /ou/ in certain very common contexts of situation. The vowels /i:/, /a:/, /ə:/, /ei/, /ou/, /ai/, /iə/ and /eə/ can also be used as one-word sentences functioning by themselves in certain contexts of situa-

¹See 'Conversation and Spoken Prose', p. 13, *English Language Teaching*, XVIII, 1, October 1963.

²*The Structure of English*, p. 3, Longmans, 1957.

tion.¹ And even if we can find an adequate definition of *sentence* to cover all such syntactical units, we are still left with intonation, emotion, gesture, and the many idiosyncrasies of people which defy the printed word, but which, fortunately, are to a large extent demonstrable and teachable.

The sentence patterns of conversational English cannot be studied in isolation nor out of a context. Conversation is a two-way exchange. If one person does all the talking, it is a monologue. But, generally, there is enough give-and-take by at least two people to make it into a conversation. This two-way exchange can be described in terms of *stimulus* and *response*. Somebody has to initiate the conversation, and what he says is the stimulus which evokes a response from the other person. A response can, in certain circumstances, be a silence. Not everything we say requires a verbal response. A command or a request, for instance, is satisfactorily answered if the command is obeyed or the request complied with. Such situations frequently occur in special social relationships—a school or the army, for instance—where there are people who give orders and other people who obey them. But the greater part of ordinary conversation includes spoken responses. Many of these are little more than polite murmurs. They record nothing more, perhaps, than the fact that we have heard what has been said to us. This absolves the other person from the need to repeat what he has said.² It is not unlike the habit that I have noticed among some people, both in East Pakistan and East Africa, who answer 'Yes' to every question: they use the word not to signify approval or acceptance, but merely to register the fact that they have heard and understood what has been said to them.

A conversation lasts only as long as both parties to it want it to last. There are many devices for keeping the conversation going, and there are many devices for terminating it. If, for instance, a student says to me: 'I shan't be here tomorrow for my lesson', and I reply 'All right', my reply acknowledges my acquiescence in the situation and leaves nothing more to be said. But if I reply 'Oh?', the rising intonation invites him to offer an explanation why he will be absent. In this way a response acts as a stimulus to the other person, and so the conversation is kept going. The so-called 'question-tags', far from being the 'playthings of the linguists', are essential devices for conveying meaning and for keeping the conversational ball in motion.³

¹J. R. Firth, op. cit., Ch. IV, 'The Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds.'

²Such a repetition often involves a change in the intonation pattern, though with the same words.

³See Michael West's 'Conversational Tags', in *E.L.T.*, XVII, 4, July 1963.

The analysis of the patterns of conversational English has sooner or later to be translated into teaching units. This process is hindered rather than helped by the premature exposure of students to conversational texts. There is no great difficulty in preparing such texts, whether for children or for adults. But before this stage is reached, there must be a prolonged and systematic drilling in the stimulus-response technique. The conversational patterns have got to become as near as possible automatic habits, practised in several contexts and reproducible in many more. It is this that teachers, including many expatriate British teachers, find most difficult. What is more, the habits acquired in class under formal instruction have by some means to be transferred to the informal situational contexts that occur outside the classroom. It can be done, but it demands much thought and planning. If it is done properly, it can help materially to increase the student's confidence in casual conversation and in that formidable and sometimes decisive event, the interview. These language habits will not come instinctively. They require cultivation and deliberately contrived opportunities for practice. The stimulus-response patterns that appear below need to be worked up into drills and subsequently into situational texts. In the situational texts there will appear many features of colloquial grammar, syntax, and idiom with which foreign students are relatively unfamiliar. But it is not my business to discuss such matters here.¹

The patterns that follow divide themselves conveniently into two parts. In the first part we have various kinds of question as stimuli. In the second part we have statements, exclamations, commands, and other forms of conversational stimuli. They are all presented schematically, for reasons of brevity and clarity, so that the implicit contexts need to be expanded for their full comprehension. The stimulus usually appears on the left of the page, the response on the right. I hope that readers will make their own contributions to this modest piece of research by pointing out any errors of omission and commission.

These patterns of conversational stimuli and responses are suggested as part of a syllabus in spoken English for senior secondary schools. This is not the order of presentation. The grading is arbitrary.

1. Question stimuli

1. Interrogative pronoun ?
- (a) Short answer.
 - (b) 'I don't know.'
 - (c) 'I'm afraid I don't know.'

¹I have said something about them in my *Conversational English and A Practical Guide to Colloquial Idiom* (Longmans).

Example:

'Where's he gone?'

(a) 'To school.'

(b) 'I don't know.'

(c) 'I'm afraid I don't know.'

N.B. 'I'm afraid . . .' is a *behaviourism*. It is used (apologetically) in both positive and negative expressions.

2. Anomalous finite ?

Yes } + same anomalous finite.
No }
'Follow-your-leader' pattern.

Example:

'Was it cold there?'

'Yes, it was.'

'No, it wasn't.'

3. Follow-up of 1. 'Follow-your-leader' pattern.

(a) 'Who can ?'

'I can.'

'Who's ?'

'I am/He is/etc.'

'Who'll ?'

'I will.'

'Who was ?'

'It was ?'

N.B. Use of *it* introducing *persons*.

(b) 'Who knows ?'

'I do.'

N.B. *do* used for questions where anomalous finite is not the main verb.

(c) 'Can you ?'

(a) 'Yes, I can.'

(b) 'No, I can't.'

(c) 'I'm afraid not.'

(d) 'I'm afraid I can't.'

4. Follow-up of 2. 'Follow-your-leader' pattern.

Anomalous finite ?

(a) 'I think + anom. finite.'

(b) 'I don't think + anom. finite.'

(c) 'I'm afraid + anom. finite.'

Examples:

'Have they left?'

(a) 'I think they have.'

(b) 'I don't think they have.'

or 'No, I don't think they have.'

(c) 'I'm afraid they have.'

N.B. The negative of 'I'm afraid . . .' may be either 'I'm afraid + negative anom. finite' or, more usually, 'I'm afraid not' e.g.

'Did he succeed?'

{ 'I'm afraid he didn't.'
'I'm afraid not.'

5. Anomalous finite ?

'I think
'I don't think } so.'

so is a substitute for a noun clause.

Example:

'Is the library closed?'

'I think so.'

'I don't think so.'

6. Anomalous finite ?

'I { believe
 imagine } so.'

Negative replies:

'I don't { believe
 imagine } so.'

BUT: { 'I hope so.'
 'I hope not.'

Example:

'Have they given him the job?'

'I believe so.'

'I hope so.'

'I don't imagine so.'

'I hope not.'

7. Questions as in 2.

'I { expect
hope
believe } + anom. finite.'

Examples:

(a) 'Did you lock the door?'

'I hope I did'.

(b) 'Was the manager angry?'

'I believe he was.'

(c) 'Will you be here for tea?'

'I hope I shall.'

Negative replies:

(a) 'I'm afraid I didn't.'

(b) 'I don't believe he was.'

(c) 'I don't expect I shall.'

8. Questions with question-tags. These also are behaviourisms: they help to keep the conversational ball on the move. They are not just a linguistic oddity or bauble. The intonation pattern is decisive.

(a) Unreal questions (the speaker really knows the answer).

Examples (positive):

'English *is* a \difficult language, \isn't it?' 'Yes, it *is*.'

'You're John's \brother, \aren't you?' 'Yes, I am.'

'I've told you this be\fore, \haven't I?' 'Yes, you *have*.'

N.B. (i) Italics are used to show the + - + character of the patterns.

(ii) Special care should be taken to see that 'isn't it?' is not used inappropriately.

Examples (negative):

'It *isn't* fair, is it?'

'No, it *isn't*.'

You *haven't* been here before,
have you?'

No, I *haven't*.'

N.B. (i) The pattern is - + -.

(ii) The same intonation pattern is used as in the positive sentences.

9. *Real questions* (the speaker is in genuine doubt)

(i) Suggesting a negative answer (apprehension)

Examples:

'You haven't been waiting \long, \have you?' 'No, I haven't.'

'We shan't have to \pay to go in, \shall we?' 'No, we shan't.'

(ii) Suggesting a positive answer (hope)

Examples:

'You remember his ad\dress, \don't you?' 'Yes, I *do*.'

'They'll be \waiting for us, \won't they?' 'Yes, they *will*.'

N.B. The patterns in (i) and (ii) may be - + + or + - -, since the questions are half open.

10. *Questions asking for explanation. Reply may be an explanation or excuse.*

(a) 'Why.....?'

(a) Short statement of explanation.

(b) 'What.....for?'

(b) 'Because.....'

(c) 'It was because.....'

(d) Other constructions, e.g. infinitive of purpose.

Examples:

- 'Why were you late?' (a) 'I had a puncture.'
 (b) 'Because I had a puncture.'
 (c) 'It was because I had a puncture.'
- 'What did the headmaster want you for?' (a) 'He's going to promote me to Class 3.'
 (b) and (c) are not usual here.
 (d) 'To tell me he was promoting me to Class 3.'

N.B. 'I'm afraid' can be used to herald unpleasant news or to apologize for one's shortcomings.

Example:

- 'Why didn't you come to the meeting?' 'I'm afraid I forgot.'

11. *Questions—with alternative choice*

- '..... ↗ or ↘.....?' (a) 'Follow-my-leader' + one of the alternatives.
 (b) One of the alternatives.

Examples:

- 'Is this ↗ your book or is it ↘ John's?' 'It's mine.'
 'Do you like coffee or tea?' 'Tea.'

12. *Follow-up of 11. Choice of alternative actions*

- '..... or?' 'Let's.....'

Example:

- 'Shall we go for a walk or shall we watch TV?' 'Let's watch TV.'
 See also below, *Suggestions*.

13. *Asking permission*

- 'May I.....?' (a) 'Yes, you may.'
 (Permission granted.)
 (b) 'No, you may not.'
 (Permission abruptly refused.)
 (c) 'I'm sorry, but you may not.'
 (Polite refusal.)
 (d) 'Of course.' (i.e. 'Certainly.')

14. 'May I.....?'

Acknowledging one's social debts, offering congratulations, sympathy, etc.

Examples:

- 'May I congratulate you on your engagement?' 'Thank you very much.'
 'May I say how much I've enjoyed myself?' 'I'm so glad.'
 'May I say how sorry I am to hear it?' 'Thank you very much' or
 'That's very kind of you.'

15. 'May I ?': mock permission. The speaker seeks an explanation of the listener's conduct or misconduct.

Examples:

'May I know what you're doing with my bicycle?'

'May I see what you've written?'

'May we have the next question please?'

N.B. In 14 and 15 a negative reply is not expected.

'I was only moving it out of the rain.'

No reply is expected if the speaker is in the dominant position (e.g. a teacher talking to a pupil).

Almost a request.

(See below, 16.)

16. *Requests.* These are sometimes close to invitations, sometimes to commands.

(a) 'Will you ? please?'

'Open the window, please, *!* will you?'

'Could I see you privately for a few minutes?'

A reply is not necessary in this case.

(b) 'Would you mind opening the *!* window?'

'Do you mind if I open the window?'

'Would you mind if I opened the window?'

N.B. An *extended reply* is sometimes heard:

'Would you mind opening the window?'

'Not at all.' (Opens the window.)

'Thank you.'

'You're welcome.' ('Don't mention it' is a variant.)

N.B. See also above: 13. Asking permission.

17. *Suggestions* (involving solitary or shared action)

Positive replies:

(a) 'Shall I ?'

(The speaker suggests action for himself.)

(b) and (c) should be used with caution.

(a) 'Please do' (also 'Do, please.')

(b) 'If you don't mind.'

(c) 'Would you mind?'

Example:

'Shall I call for you in half an hour?'

'Please do.'

Also (b) and (c).

(b) 'Shall we ?'

(The listener is to share in the action.)

'Let's *!* shall we?'

(d) 'Yes, let's.'

(e) 'All right.'

(Both of ready acceptance.)

Example:

'Shall we look inside the cathedral?'

'Let's look inside the cathedral, shall we?'

(c) 'Would you like ?'

'Yes, let's.'

'All right.'

(f) 'Yes, I would.'

(g) 'Yes, please.'

Example:

'Would you like me to teach you Spanish?'

(d) 'What about ?'

(i) + Gerund.

(ii) + Noun

Replies: (f), (g); also possible are (b) and (c).

Examples:

'What about going for a walk?'

'What about a swim?'

Replies: (d) and (e).

Negative replies:

(e) Question as above (a).

(h) 'No, thank you.'

(f) Question as above (b).

(i) 'No, don't bother.'

(j) 'No, don't let's do that.'

(k) 'No, if you don't mind.'

(l) 'No, I'd rather not.'

(g) Question as above (c).

Replies: (h), (i), (k), (l).

('No, I'd rather you didn't.')

(h) Question as above (d).

Replies: (h), (j), (k), (l).

N.B. In case of reluctant refusals it is common to offer an explanation or an alternative suggestion.

18.

Answer with *reciprocal question*.

Examples:

'How old are you?'

'I'm 18. How old are you?'

'How did you like the play?'

'Very much. How did you?'

'Were you at the match?'

'I was. Were you?'

19. Question asking advice.

Answer by question or statement offering suggestions (see 17 above). Other possible answers appear in the examples below: they will depend on the context.

'What are we to do now?'

(a) 'Let's stop the next car and get a lift to a garage.'

(b) 'Why not stop the next car..... etc.?'

(c) 'We'll stop the next car..... etc.?'

(d) 'Couldn't we stop.....etc.?'

(e) 'You wait here. I'll stop..... etc.?'

20. (1) Question—(2) Reply (affirming or denying)—(3) Statement (of reaffirmation: intonation pattern is a high jump).

N.B. *Verb* in (3) is in *past tense*.

Example:

'Does Bobo play tennis?'

'Yes, he does.'

'I \thought he did.'

21. As for 20, but *negative* reply, followed by statement (of rejected belief: intonation pattern is a glide up).

Example:

'Does Bobo play tennis?'

'No, he doesn't.'

'\Oh, I thought he \did.'

Patterns 1-21 are concerned with question stimuli and conventional response forms.

Patterns 22-46 are concerned with statements, exclamations, commands, and other forms of conversational stimuli, with conventional response forms (especially comments).

22. Statement Parallel statement (echoing previous sentiment) using *so* or *nor* + anom. finite.
- Examples:*
 Positive:
 'I like swimming.' 'So do I.'
 Negative:
 'I don't like cheese.' 'Nor do I.'
 N.B. Inversion after *so* and *nor*.
23. Statement Question form showing interest and acting as a stimulus to further conversation.
- Examples:*
 'I'm going to Nairobi next week.' '↘Are you?'
 'John got married last week.' '↘Did he?'
24. Statement. Statement recognizing a fact already known, using *so* + anom. finite.
- Examples:*
 Positive:
 'She lives in that big house.' 'So she does.'
 N.B. No inversion after *does*.
 Negative:
 'She doesn't live there now.' 'No, she doesn't.'
25. Same as 24, but recognizing a *new* fact (information).
- Example:*
 'You've got a smudge on your nose.' (a) 'So I have.'
 (b) 'Why, so I have.'
 N.B. *Why* here of discovery, not of interrogation. It is a link-word (see also note to 46).
26. Statement (implied protest or reproach) Repetition phrase (provoking further statement or request for explanation).
- Example:*
 'You didn't tell me *she* was coming with us.' 'No, I didn't.'
 (For apology, 'I'm sorry' follows.)
27. Statement Question (expressing surprise): intonation pattern is a glide up.
- Examples:*
 'You've got a smudge on your nose.' '↗Have I?'
 'She's only 17 years old.' '↗Is she?'
28. Exclamation Statement of agreement + question-tag: it is not really a question. Intonation patterns are glide down.
- Examples:*
 'What a pretty dress!' 'Yes, it ↘is, ↘isn't it?'
 'What lovely white teeth she has!' 'Yes, she ↘has, ↘hasn't she?'

29. Statement

- (a) 'Yes, she has, hasn't she?'
 (b) 'Hasn't she!' (Exclamation.)
 (c) 'She (certainly) has.'

N.B. Intensive use of *certainly*. Another word used intensively is *just*.

'The weather doesn't look very promising.'

- (a) 'No, it \doesn't, \does it?'
 N.B. It is an error to use *Yes* here = I agree with what you say. This is a fault with many foreign students.
 (b) There is no equivalent here. 'Doesn't it?' would be out of place here.
 (c) 'It (certainly) doesn't.'

30. Statement

Question seeking or stimulating a further explanation.

Examples:

Negative main verb:

'I shan't be able to come tomorrow.'

- (a) 'Why?'
 (b) 'Why not?'
 (c) 'Won't you?'

Positive main verb:

'I've got to go into hospital.'

- (a) 'Why?' or 'What for?'
 (b) 'Have you?'

See also 35 for Exclamation response.

31. Extension of 30.

Command

Question—short form, asking for explanation.

Examples:

'Shut your eyes and open your mouth.'

'Don't make a sound!'

- 'Why?'
 'Why not?' ('Why?' is also possible here.)

32. Extension of 30.

Statement—Question (asking for explanation)—Statement (of explanation).

Example:

'You can't go swimming today.'

'Why not?'

'They've emptied the pool. They're going to clean it out.'

33. Statement or Question—'I beg your pardon?' (or 'Pardon?')—Repetition of statement or question.

Example:

'Could you tell me the way to Victoria Station?'

'I beg your pardon?'

'I asked if you could tell me the way to Victoria Station.'

N.B. (i) 'I beg your pardon' is said as if it were a question.

(ii) This behaviour formula is used when we have to ask someone to repeat what he has said.

34. Statement

Question (long and short forms) + sympathetic comment.

Example:

- 'I sprained my ankle yesterday.' (a) 'How did that happen?' (Can be introduced by an expression of sympathy, e.g. 'I'm sorry to hear that.')
- (b) 'Did you?' + 'I'm sorry to hear that.' (See 23.)

N.B. An unusual reply is 'You *didn't*' (with high jump). This seems to be a contradiction. It is not, of course. It expresses the speaker's incredulity.

35. Statement

Examples:

- 'I'm afraid he's just gone out.'
- 'He's failed his driving test.'
- 'I've got to go into hospital again.'
- } 'How tiresome!'
- } 'What a nuisance!', etc.'

36. Statement (of complaint)

Statement (of apology)

Example:

- 'Excuse me, but your hat's obstructing my view.'
- (a) 'I'm so sorry.' (Removes hat.)
- (b) 'Is it? I'm so sorry.'

37. Extension of 36

Apology, with explanation.

Example:

- 'That's my foot you've trodden on.'
- 'I'm so sorry. Somebody pushed me from behind.'

38. Extension of 36

Polite denial.

Example:

- 'Excuse me, but you're sitting in in my seat.'
- 'Am I? I don't think I am.'
- (N.B. Intonation pattern is a high jump.)

39. Statement (pointing out an error)

Question-tag (acknowledging the error: some face-saving is involved).

Example:

- 'That's not the way to skin a rabbit.'
- 'Isn't it?'

40. 'Excuse me' introducing a request

Various polite answers.

Example:

- 'Excuse me; may I see your ticket?'
- Positive replies:
- (a) 'You may.' (See 33. Shows ticket.)
- (b) 'Certainly.'

Also *no* reply is possible.

Negative replies:

- (a) 'I'm sorry. I don't smoke.'
- (b) 'I'm afraid I don't carry matches.'

- | 41. Statement or question (of complaint or accusation) | Statement of contradiction. |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. I am a woman. | 1. I am a man. |
| 2. I am a man. | 2. I am a woman. |
| 3. I am a girl. | 3. I am a boy. |
| 4. I am a boy. | 4. I am a girl. |
| 5. I am a girl. | 5. I am a boy. |
| 6. I am a boy. | 6. I am a girl. |
| 7. I am a girl. | 7. I am a boy. |
| 8. I am a boy. | 8. I am a girl. |
| 9. I am a girl. | 9. I am a boy. |
| 10. I am a boy. | 10. I am a girl. |
| 11. I am a girl. | 11. I am a boy. |
| 12. I am a boy. | 12. I am a girl. |
| 13. I am a girl. | 13. I am a boy. |
| 14. I am a boy. | 14. I am a girl. |
| 15. I am a girl. | 15. I am a boy. |
| 16. I am a boy. | 16. I am a girl. |
| 17. I am a girl. | 17. I am a boy. |
| 18. I am a boy. | 18. I am a girl. |
| 19. I am a girl. | 19. I am a boy. |
| 20. I am a boy. | 20. I am a girl. |
| 21. I am a girl. | 21. I am a boy. |
| 22. I am a boy. | 22. I am a girl. |
| 23. I am a girl. | 23. I am a boy. |
| 24. I am a boy. | 24. I am a girl. |
| 25. I am a girl. | 25. I am a boy. |
| 26. I am a boy. | 26. I am a girl. |
| 27. I am a girl. | 27. I am a boy. |
| 28. I am a boy. | 28. I am a girl. |
| 29. I am a girl. | 29. I am a boy. |
| 30. I am a boy. | 30. I am a girl. |
| 31. I am a girl. | 31. I am a boy. |
| 32. I am a boy. | 32. I am a girl. |
| 33. I am a girl. | 33. I am a boy. |
| 34. I am a boy. | 34. I am a girl. |
| 35. I am a girl. | 35. I am a boy. |
| 36. I am a boy. | 36. I am a girl. |
| 37. I am a girl. | 37. I am a boy. |
| 38. I am a boy. | 38. I am a girl. |
| 39. I am a girl. | 39. I am a boy. |
| 40. I am a boy. | 40. I am a girl. |

Example:

'Why didn't you post my letter?' (a) 'I *did* post it.'

(b) 'Excuse me, but I *did* post it.'

N.B. The replies may be indignant or mild. If indignant the phrase 'Excuse me' becomes ironical.

42. Question with tag (an appeal) Various replies of agreement.

Example:

'You will go to see the doctor, (a) 'All right.'
'won't you?' (This is a behaviour formula of agreement.)

(b) 'Of course.'

(c) 'Yes, I will.'

- ### 43. Appeal with command

Example:

'Promise me you'll go to see the doctor.'

Replies: (a), (b), and (c) above (42).
Also:

(d) 'I promise.'

(e) 'Very well.' (This often implies reluctant agreement under pressure.)

(N.B. On *very well* see note to 46.)

44. Statement

Example:

'He's been sent to gaol for 6 months.'

Really and *Oh* expressing surprise and dismay

(a) 'Really?' } Surprise
(b) 'Oh.' }

(b) '↑Oh.'

(a) 'Really.' } Dismay
(b) 'Oh.' }

(b) 'Oh.'

(Also 'yOh, yno.')

45. Statement (of provocation)

Example:

'There's no room here for you.'

Rhetorical question (accepting challenge), using tags.

(a) 'Oh, isn't there?'

(b) 'Oh, there \isn't, \isn't there?'

46. Statement of fact

Examples:

'My feet are hurting.'

Command or question offering advice.

(a) 'Well, why not sit down and rest them?'

(b) 'Sit down and rest them.'

'This tea's too hot to drink.'

(a) 'Wait for it to cool then.'

(b) 'Well then! Wait for it to cool.'

(c) 'Let it cool then.'

N.B. *Well* and *then* are link-words. They can be used alone, or together in some circumstances. Their purpose *inter alia* is to give a moment's delay while the speaker collects his thoughts. *Well* is particularly expressive and can mean several things according to the intonation pattern. These words and others like them are behaviour formulas.

Teaching English to Large Classes: 4

JEAN FORRESTER

THE PREVIOUS ARTICLE in this series¹ described ways of using group work in the teaching of English to the large class in the junior school. In this last article I want to describe how I have seen group-work techniques used in senior classes, including those preparing pupils for public examinations.

I want to start by describing a lesson I observed on *précis* in the top class. Most teachers will agree that many pupils find *précis* difficult, and often produce nothing better than a mosaic of sentences and half sentences from the set passage. Not so these boys! Their teacher was the headmaster, an enthusiast for group work. He told me that before he started using this method he had always had to devote two periods to a *précis* exercise. In the first of these periods the boys wrote the *précis* individually after a certain amount of oral preparation. He then took the exercise books away to correct. He spent the next period returning the books, going over the mistakes, and often getting the *précis* rewritten. With group work he needed only one period for a passage, got better results, and gave himself far less homework.

The teacher asked me to select a passage for *précis* from the book used for rapid reading. There was, therefore, no question of the boys having prepared the passage before the lesson. He started the lesson by telling them the passage, 'Page 34, last paragraph to the middle of page 35. Get into groups and make a list of the chief points.' In the groups each leader appointed a boy to read the passage aloud, then asked for the first point. As the points were decided each boy wrote them down in his rough note book. While the groups were doing this the teacher went round the groups pointing out mistakes, for example, 'There is one more point, look for it.' At the end of ten minutes, he went to the blackboard and asked one of the groups for the first point, another group for the second point, the third group for the next, and so on, making sure that the group that had missed a point understood. The work in groups took ten minutes, the summarizing on the board a little more than five. The group then wrote up the *précis* from the summary. As each sentence was suggested it was written down by each boy in his book, as in the lower classes, but the sentence was not repeated orally by every boy. Practice in spoken English was provided by the discussion in the group. While the groups were working the teacher as usual went round the groups helping and

¹See *E.L.T.*, XIX, 4, July 1965.

correcting. The first group finished after fifteen minutes. Their *précis* had no mistakes in grammar. The second had two small mistakes in tense which were quickly corrected when they were pointed out. As soon as a group had finished its work the teacher checked one boy's book, the others corrected their books from this corrected copy and then made a fair copy in their composition books. In the 45-minute lesson more than half the class finished making their fair copies, the remaining boys agreed to finish copying out in the lunch hour. The teacher told me that it would take very little time to look through the fair copies. I was very agreeably surprised by the high quality of the work produced.

One can easily see how this method can be used in the writing of compositions. Points for a composition can be collected and arranged in groups. The teacher can then make one common outline for the whole class or else check each group's outline separately and let each group write its composition according to its own outline. The value of group work at this stage is that ideas are quickly collected and thus more time is available for the more important problem of expressing the ideas in correct English. Every teacher knows how the slower pupil faced with writing a composition in a foreign language seems suddenly completely bereft of ideas. It is true that sometimes he does lack ideas, but it is even more true that his real difficulty is his inability to express the ideas he has. Working with a group he can often make a contribution and learn from the other boys how to express it. A boy may be unwilling to make a suggestion in front of the whole class for fear of making mistakes, and slow to express himself in writing for the same reason, but in the more intimate circle of the group he is less afraid of his own limited English. When he has grown used to group work he will know how he can be helped. When there are six, or at the most eight, groups in a class it is possible for the teacher to correct the work of each group during the lesson, correcting one copy from each group. This has other advantages in addition to that of lightening considerably the burden of corrections. Mistakes are corrected immediately they are made, so there is more chance of the correct form being remembered. This is reinforced by the copying out of the corrected material.

Interesting and somewhat ambitious schemes of composition work can be carried out with groups. For example, a story known to the class from their study of the mother tongue, or from history, can be the basis of a co-operative story-writing effort. The story can be broken up into sections and each group made responsible for writing up one section of the story. Or the groups can work at dramatizing one of the books set for rapid reading, each group taking a different scene. Both the story-writing and the play-writing need some planning beforehand on the part of the teacher,

but the fact that the material is familiar makes these much easier than compositions which involve the collecting of ideas.

Groups can work on answers to questions on books set for detailed study and rapid reading, grammar questions of all kinds, analysis, transformations, translations, etc. In each case the teacher walks round helping the groups where necessary and correcting answers when they are finished. The great advantage is that the amount of written work that the pupils can do is greatly increased and at the same time the teacher's burden of corrections is lessened. When the pupils work together in groups many of the elementary mistakes, such as plural verbs with single subjects, wrong sequence of tenses, wrong spelling, and omission of articles are corrected by other pupils in the group.

I would now like to describe an experiment in group work on the book set for detailed study that I watched in a class where the teacher had had considerable experience with group work. The teacher divided the passage into sections and allocated each section to a different group. He then read the passage aloud to the class without comment or explanation. He told the groups to make a list of the words they did not understand in the section he had allocated to them. This took about five minutes. The teacher asked the first group for its list and wrote the words across the board, five words to a line. He did the same for each group until he had all the words written up, omitting any words that he had been given already by another group. He ended with five columns of words with about six words in each group. He then assigned one column to each group and told them to make sentences using these words. Each group had a good dictionary. I was uneasy about this procedure, as I had always considered that it was the teacher's job to introduce new words to the class, illustrate them well, and only then expect the pupils to use them. However, I was very interested to see what happened. As usual, the teacher went round the groups as they were working and helped them. It will be noticed that the pupils were asked to use words not only from the section they had read but from all the other sections. In practice this meant that the whole class read the whole passage. After about fifteen minutes the teacher went to the board and asked the first group for a sentence using the first word. He wrote it on the board and asked if the rest of the class accepted it. If they did, they then copied it down in their notebooks. If it was challenged or if the teacher himself considered it wrong, it was discussed and a correct sentence produced either by the teacher or, preferably, by one of the pupils. It was easy to see from this which words were real difficulties to the class, not always the ones that the teacher might have expected. It was interesting also to notice that the list of new words provided by the class included some which the pupils were

supposed to have learnt in previous lessons but which had obviously not 'stuck'. Some of the words listed in the reader as new words were already known to the class.

This is a very demanding exercise for pupils. I was surprised at the number of good sentences produced by the groups. Some, of course, they had misunderstood and those the teacher was able to deal with adequately, having saved time on the words with which the class itself had dealt. This type of exercise throws great responsibility on the groups and trains them in the use of the dictionary under guidance. I do not think that I would advocate this practice for every passage, but it is certainly stimulating as a change and does encourage the pupils to believe that they can find out the meanings for themselves. This exercise is sometimes usefully preceded by one in which the pupils are asked general questions on the passage to see if they have gathered the gist of it. I have so often met pupils who have got it into their heads that they cannot answer a question on a passage if there are a few words they do not know. It is important to build up their confidence in their ability to understand the language without the aid of the teacher, and these general questions and the exercise on finding the meanings of words can help to do this if suitable passages are chosen.

As has already been said in previous articles, when group work is used it is possible for the teacher to give a great deal more written work, for this method provides a solution to the burden of corrections. The pupils must, of course, sometimes be given individual work to do. This can be given in the form of a monthly test to the whole class, or, if the teacher wishes, he can set one group to work individually while the rest of the class work in groups. This means that he has only about eight books from boys of varied ability to correct.

One last word remains to be said about the slower pupil in this set-up. As group work provides much more opportunity for supervised use of the language, even if the supervision is that of fellow-pupils and not that of the teacher, elementary mistakes of grammar and structure are mostly eliminated. The slower pupils learn a great deal from other boys in the group. It sometimes happens that another pupil will understand the slow boy's difficulty better than the teacher as his memory of his own difficulty in learning is often more vivid than the teacher's. I have noticed keen group leaders, anxious that their group should do well, spend some time out of school coaching weak members of their groups. An interesting development in the higher classes with boys who have had a few years' training in group work is to put the slower boys in a group of their own for some exercises. I have known this done with précis and composition work. These boys produced

short simple sentences, but they had very few actual mistakes. They were working to the level of their own ability. It means a great deal to such boys to produce work that does not receive a generous spattering of red ink from the teacher. Once they have learnt to have some confidence in their ability to express themselves in English there is hope for their continued improvement.

The teacher who is willing to try group work will find that there are endless possibilities. It does, however, take a little time for the class to settle down to this co-operative way of working, especially if they have previously been brought up strictly not to consult and copy. At first the teacher may feel that this is waste of time, but if he perseveres he will find that he has time in hand for revision. A chronic complaint among teachers is that they have too little time to finish the syllabus. The teacher who used the group method which I have described above with the book set for detailed study told me that he was able to go through the book three times in the year. The standard of English reached by his class justified his methods. What more can be said?

'H' for a Marathi Speaker of English

(The problem of aspiration)

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THE ENGLISH SPOKEN by the average educated speaker of Marathi is easily distinguishable from native English and many other types of non-native English by the presence of marked aspiration in those contexts where native speakers do not use aspiration. Aspiration is a very significant characteristic of Marathi.¹ It is phonemic in Marathi.

For example, /mən/ (= a 'maund', an Indian weight)
and /mhən/ (= a proverb);
/dza:q/ (= fat, bulky)
and /dzha:q/ (= a tree) etc. in Marathi.

¹I have a feeling that in Dravidian languages aspiration as a phonetic feature is much less important than in Marathi. That is why Dravidian speakers who know English notice it at once in the English speech of Marathi speakers.

Sounding or omitting the *h* in stressed syllables betrays a British speaker. It reveals his class and breeding at once—the distinction between 'U' and 'non-U' strata of British society. A Cockney speaker tends to 'drop his aitches'. A Marathi speaker does the opposite. His tendency is to pronounce *h* wherever it occurs. (There are however a few exceptions. The *h* in words such as *honest*, *hour*, *honour* is not sounded because these words are fairly well known to the average educated Marathi speaker.) But he does not aspirate the voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/ as he should, when they precede a stressed vowel and are not followed by any other consonant, that is, in situations where native speakers of English aspirate them. One of the reasons why Marathi speakers do not aspirate these sounds in such positions is that they do not hear any aspiration in native speech. In English, *ph* denotes /f/ and *th* denotes /θ/ and /ð/. If in English *h* does not stand for aspiration, how can a Marathi speaker know that *p*, *t*, and *k* in the spelling of English words represent aspirated plosives in certain phonetic contexts?

Though 'consonant' + *h* does not have affricate value in English, in Marathi it almost always represents an affricated sound. Added to this pull of the mother tongue, there is the influence of spelling as well. By way of illustration, a few 'consonant' + *h* combinations in English can be cited:—

wh:

wheat /wi:t/ >¹ /ʊhi:t̪/

when /wen/ > /ʊhen/

That is to say, the *h*'s in the above words are fully sounded in 'Marathi' English. In English, *h* is pronounced in words such as *who*, *whole*, etc. Sometimes it is silent in words like those given above: *wheat*, *when*, *why*, *whisky*, etc. But its presence in English spelling never stands for aspiration.

gh:

ghost /goust/ > /ghost̪/

Birmingham /'bæ:miŋəm/ > /bæ³miŋhəm/

ghastly /'gɑ:s(t)li/ > /ghɑ:st̪li/.

¹ > stands for 'becomes or approximates to in Marathi English'.

² The *t* in *wheat*, *what*, etc., is generally pronounced as a retroflex-alveolar plosive in Marathi English. I think this is typical of all varieties of Indian English.

³ Marathi speakers pronounce *r* wherever it occurs in English spelling, though it is only sounded in R.P. when followed by a vowel.

rh:

rhyme /raim/ > /rhaim/,

rhythm /'riðm/ > /rhidəm/,

rheumatism /'ru:mætizm/ > /rhumætɪdz(h)əm/.

dh:

ad¹here /əd'hia* / > /ædhiər/,

ad hoc /'æd'hɔk/ > /ædhɔk/,

Sand-hurst /'sændhə:st/ > /sændhərst/,

ad-hesive /əd'hi:siv/ or /əd'hi:ziv/ > /ædhidz(h)iv/.

bh:

ab-hor /əb'hɔ:* / > /æbhɔr/.

mh:

Am-herst /'æmhə:st/ or /'æməst/ > /æmhərst/.

It is interesting to see how Marathi speakers have arrived at their versions of certain English fricatives which are not found in the phonology of Marathi. It seems that an English fricative generally gets replaced by a homorganic plosive followed by an aspirate. Let us begin with dental fricatives:—

/θ/ > /tʰ/:

Marathi speakers note the place of articulation of the English sound correctly. In the scheme of Marathi sounds, there is a plosive in dental position. Therefore, Marathi speakers use it and add aspiration to bring in the element of friction which they hear in the English sound. Hence we have in Marathi English /tʰ/ as the nearest approximation to /θ/.

Thus *thought* /θɔ:t/ > /tʰɔ:t/,

health /helθ/ > /helʰtʰ/.

/ð/ > /dʰ/ or /d/:

Similarly, the voiced counterpart of /θ/ becomes /dʰ/. However, it is used in a few cases only, such as *this* /ðis/ > /dʰis/.

In almost every other case, the Marathi English version is /d/, perhaps because, in Marathi, aspiration is weak in voiced consonants.²

¹I use the hyphen to mark syllabic (boundary) division.

²I have heard many Gujarati people pronouncing /ð/ invariably /dʰ/.

/f/ > /ph/:

Here again, the aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive is used in Marathi English to represent the voiceless labio-dental fricative in English. This phenomenon can be accounted for otherwise as well. /f/ is very often the sound of the spelling *ph*. Those who seldom get an opportunity to hear native speakers of English are naturally influenced by its written form, by the way English is spelt. Secondly, Marathi does not have either a plosive or a fricative in labio-dental position. Hence the bilabial plosive is used for the approximation of /f/.

Thus *photo* /'fɒtəʊ/ > /photo/,
farm /fɑ:m/ > /pharm/.

/v/ > /vʰ/:

The Marathi English version of /v/ is its most representative feature, a laughing stock of the English-knowing South Indian. It is made up of voiced frictionless continuant plus aspiration.

very /'veri/ > /vʰeri/,
voice /vɔis/ > /vʰɔis/,
vehicle /'vi:ɪkl/ > /vʰehɪkəl/.

There is one more reason why /v/ becomes /vʰ/ in Marathi English. Marathi speakers use just /v/ for /w/, an English semi-vowel. So, to distinguish /v/ from /w/ in their speech, they add aspiration to /v/ and form their version of /v/.

/z/ > /dz/ and /dzh/:

Which of these two will be used, and when, in Marathi English is predictable. Wherever *z* occurs in English spelling, it is pronounced /dzh/.

zoo /zu:/ > /dzhu:/,
zenith /'zeniθ/ > /dzhenɪθ/.

But letter *s* (the plural suffix or the inflexion of the third person singular verb in the present tense or the inflexion of the possessive case) is pronounced /dz/ in Marathi English when preceded by a vowel.¹

Thus, *goes* /gouz/ > /go:dz/,
Mary's /'mɛərɪz/ > /merɪdz/,
toys /tɔɪz/ > /tɔɪdz/.

The teacher teaching English pronunciation to Marathi students had better be on the look out for this type of mistake in Marathi students' spoken English and correct it on the spot.

¹However, suffix *s* preceded by a consonant > /s/.

Wh occurs in a number of words which are fairly common even in the initial stage of learning English. The following words, for example, will help to make a good drill exercise.¹

Question words

what
when
why
where
which

Some other useful words

white
whether
wheat
wheel
whip
whale
whisper
while
whistle

Other similar exercises for spoken drill could easily be devised. It is no doubt a very strenuous job to keep constant vigil over one's pupils and enable them to get rid of this kind of error; but it will ultimately be found very rewarding.

FOR THE YOUNG TEACHER—1

Taking Notice of the Pupils

W. R. LEE

INEXPERIENCED TEACHERS are sometimes so wrapped up in themselves or in the subject-matter of the lesson that they hardly notice some of the children in the class. There is an impersonal sea of faces, from which only now and then and almost as if by chance, one or two stand out as belonging to real and knowable human beings.

When this is so, the teacher is not on top of his job. To a large extent he is being carried along helplessly by a situation he does not understand and cannot control. Being ill adapted to it, he will be uneasy, even miserable. The class in general will also be uneasy and unsatisfied, and probably restless too.

No child likes to be ignored, or barely noticed. A lecture audience may be big and the lecturer's words addressed to all and

¹These words have been taken from a 2,700-word vocabulary for secondary schools approved by the Nagpur Session of the All India Secondary Education Council.

sundry and to no one in particular. In the classroom it is otherwise, and here lies one of the main differences between lecturing and teaching. A school class is a small community which meets its teachers time and again. There is, or should be, a good personal relationship between teacher and taught. It is disconcerting if such a personal relationship is not there; it is discouraging to be left out of it.

The teacher should look at all the pupils. He should look at them not merely, and indeed not chiefly, to ensure that they are attending to the matter in hand and not playing with string, but to help establish with them all a friendly relationship. He will not succeed in doing this unless, quite deliberately, he meets every pupil's eye fairly often. It is a matter of courtesy to look at the person one is talking to, and it is also a natural and accepted way of making personal contact.

A satisfactory relationship with all is much harder to bring about if the teacher addresses only the space in front of him, or the desks, or the back wall of the room, as if the presence of human beings were irrelevant. Or if he looks only at a few haphazardly selected pupils. Many young teachers do these things. They do not seek to establish the personal contact which is one of the most important conditions of fruitful teaching, because they do not realize its importance.

Noticing (one might almost say, acknowledging the presence of) every child does not, of course, mean staring at anyone in a threatening way. A normal friendly glance is what is needed, but the undeveloped teacher is often so absorbed in his own worries that he denies this to the pupils. Children look for such contact. It is important that they should realize they are sympathetically noticed and 'included' in whatever is going on at the time.

The ability to notice all the children individually in this way when teaching a class, and to make them feel, in a reassuring manner, that you know they are there and entitled to your full attention, does not come easily to every inexperienced teacher. Yet it can be cultivated.

Make a point of looking round the class when you come in and, in a confident but amiable way, meeting various children's eyes. When you are talking to the class, or asking questions, or doing an oral drill, or reading aloud, do not look vaguely in front of you, or repeatedly at the same children, but make sure that you distribute your attention fairly evenly among the pupils, so that no one is ignored and left out in the cold. Some teachers tend to neglect the back row, others the front row under their noses, and others the corners of the class. Do not let pupils hide themselves behind others, so that you have no personal interchange with them: such pupils are virtually absent.

It helps to know and use the children's names, and the sooner you get familiar with these the better. If the pupils always have the same places, make a 'plan' showing where everybody sits and keep it on your desk or table: with its help you will learn the names quickly. Or, especially with younger children, have name-cards made which the pupils can stand on their desks; the letters should be thick and large. Neither of these aids will be necessary for long.

Very much indeed depends on the teacher's attitude and manner. Language-teaching, like the teaching of other subjects, is far from being solely a matter of well-chosen and well-arranged subject-matter and carefully worked-out techniques, important as these are too. The children will not respond well unless they find a satisfactory personal relationship, which the teacher can do a great deal to establish.

This is where the 'born teacher', if there is such a person, surely excels, but even the least brilliant of us can accomplish much by giving thought to the problem. It is necessarily at the centre of any realistic teacher-training course.

Taking notice of the pupils is the beginning of a good personal relationship. We all like to be agreeably noticed, and children will work hard for someone who, they feel, is really interested in them and not only in what is being taught. Do not be unduly wrapped up in subject-matter or techniques. Look at the pupils, all of them; *see* each one, and repeatedly let each one feel that he or she is noticed as a unique person; let the pupils realise that you are interested in them as human beings, that you are anxious to get to know them, to share their interests, and to share new and enjoyable experiences with them.

The old saying that it is not so much a subject or skill that we teach as pupils is a deep one, and has to be taken seriously.

FOR THE YOUNG TEACHER—2

Easy or Difficult Lessons?

L. A. HILL

MANY BOOKS for learning English are very difficult. A few clever children can understand them, but most of the class cannot. Some teachers say 'Difficult books are good for children. We must not make their work easy.' But is this right?

Well, first we must ask ourselves some questions. Why do we teach English? Do we teach it because we want to train our pupils'

characters? Or do we teach it because English is a useful language, and we want our pupils to know it well?

If we want to train our pupils' characters, we can do this in other, better ways. The English class is not the best place to do this. But if we want to teach our pupils good English, we must find ways which do this quickly and well.

Let us look at the arithmetic class now. Does the arithmetic teacher teach his pupils to add, to subtract, to multiply, and to divide all in one lesson? No, he does not. First he teaches the easiest thing, which is to add. When the children can do that well, he teaches the next thing. And so on.

Does the English teacher do this? Well, a lot of books for teaching English *begin* with very easy sentences—'This is a book', 'That is a pencil', 'That is a pen' and so on; but then suddenly they begin to go very fast. In Lesson 2, perhaps, the pupil is given, 'Is this a pen?' 'Yes, it is', and 'No, it is not'; 'Is that a book or an exercise-book?' 'It is a book'; 'What is this?' 'It is a ruler'; and 'That is not a rubber. It is a pencil.' Very soon after this, he may get plurals and the definite article.

For the teacher, all this is easy, because he already knows English. But for nearly all the pupils, it is very difficult. Why? Because there are too many new things at the same time; or because each new thing comes too soon after the one before. Our brains cannot learn a lot of new things all at the same time. But they *can* learn first one new thing; then, when they know it well, they can learn another new thing; and so on. Our brains learn very well in that way.

But the teacher says 'That is very boring because, for a long time, the pupils read only very simple things'. Well, perhaps it is boring for the teacher, because he already knows English. But it is not boring for the child who knows no English. For him, the *new language* is interesting. When he learns real sentences, which he can use about real things—and when he learns them well and easily—he feels happy. He feels successful. He thinks 'I am a clever boy. I can speak English about real things.' He wants to learn more English, because all of us like to feel successful.

But if the lessons are difficult, the *teacher* may be happy because the work is interesting for him; but the ordinary pupil does not find it interesting. You can't find something interesting unless you can understand it. The pupil says to himself 'I cannot understand this. I am a stupid boy. I cannot do this work. English is a very difficult language.' He does not want to learn English any more. Perhaps he begins to hate English. So the *teacher* is happy, but the ordinary pupil is not. But are we teaching English for the *teacher*, or for the *pupil*? Surely for the pupil.

In every class, there are a few very good pupils, a few very bad

ones, and a lot of ordinary ones. The very good pupils can learn from any book and any teacher. The very bad ones, perhaps, cannot learn from any book or from any teacher. But the large number of ordinary pupils can learn much better if they have books which they can understand. If we want only our very good pupils to learn English well, we can use difficult books. But if we want *most* of the class to learn English well, we *must* have books which they can understand. *It is not the ordinary pupil's job to learn to understand lessons which are too difficult for ordinary brains. It is the job of the teacher and the writer of books to make the lessons easy enough for ordinary pupils.*

Books must teach one thing at a time; they must make the pupil practise each new thing until he knows it well before he goes on to the next thing; and they must teach language which the pupil can use in real life.



Readers' Letters

1. Mr H. Hyde writes from Tanzania: In *E.L.T.*, XVIII, 4, I. R. Johnson and J. R. Birnie described a language laboratory system without booths. My colleagues and I have been using this particular system in Dar es Salaam at the Civil Service Training Centre for a period of eight months and we feel that many readers might be interested to know a little more about it.

To begin with, we must express our delight at being able to use an audio-lingual system as an integral part of classroom teaching. At any point in a language lesson students can be told to put on their headphones and a sentence pattern or sound problem can be drilled immediately. The advantages over normal choral drilling are twofold: firstly, students can listen exclusively to their own voices, and secondly, they have

the opportunity to re-wind the tapes and compare their efforts with the master's utterances.

This kind of immediate and active use of the equipment is not often used in the conventional laboratory since this is to a certain extent isolated from the ordinary class situation and students usually work from prerecorded programmes in the laboratory. Also, during this more spontaneous use of boothless audio-lingual equipment students are able to observe the teachers' lip movements and facial expressions as well as other physical movements which are so important to the language learner.

When choral drilling is taking place the individual student hears his own voice above a background noise of other students repeating their drills. This background noise, picked

up through the microphone, does not disturb the student, and the ear-pads, which are well moulded and sponge filled, are quite effective in keeping out extraneous noise.

Johnson and Birnie made the comment that the headsets, which are relatively heavy when compared with those of a conventional laboratory, might well become uncomfortable after a comparatively short time. However, we have found that students can wear the headsets for periods of over half an hour without feeling any discomfort at all, and as the pre-recorded units are restricted to fifteen minutes on the tape-recorder, students do not need much more than thirty minutes to deal with a single unit in any case.

We have found that a fifteen-minute unit or programme will provide up to two hours' work. This includes the initial presentation of the language problem and the elimination of gross errors, followed by practice using the equipment and then a period of follow-up and reinforcement work.

Whilst the students are using the equipment the teacher monitors by walking around the class and plugging into student tape-recorders. We feel that this kind of personal contact with the student is preferable to the more remote monitoring which takes place from a master console.

It is not possible to eavesdrop with this radio-operated system, as was mentioned in Johnson and Birnie's article, but since the main purpose of eavesdropping is to find out what kind of mistakes students are making and then to correct them, we cannot see that this feature of the conventional laboratory has any real advantage over the system we are using. We can monitor students, and if they are making mistakes we can give them immediate correction and a short practice drill, during which time they have the definite advantage of being able to see the teacher and take notice of lip and mouth movements. A student does not need to press a button in order to call the

attention of the teacher when he is having difficulties; he need only raise his hand when he sees that the teacher is free to deal with him. In any event, if the students have had adequate preparatory drilling to give them confidence in their ability to manipulate and use structures fairly well before going into the laboratory, they should not need to call upon the teacher too often.

Our equipment is being used for special intensive courses in remedial English and it is standing up well to quite heavy use. The headsets and tape-recorders have given very little trouble. Most of the pressure pads in the tape recorders have dropped off owing to the high humidity, but they have been re-affixed with a reliable cement solution and have given no further trouble. The system is entirely portable and can be used in any normal classroom. In countries with a favourable climate it is possible to use it out of doors. A system providing for a total of thirty students costs a little more than some of the higher priced conventional language laboratories.

2. Mr L. Dickinson writes from Rajasthan, India: Messrs Johnson and Birnie (in their article 'A Language Laboratory System Without Booths', *E.L.T.*, July, 1964) performed a service to teachers in describing the new form of language laboratory based on the learning loop. However, their article is in some ways misleading.

The authors claim that the equipment is completely mobile, but consider the following points:

(a) Ideally the language laboratory is in use for most of the periods in the day.

(b) Consequently if the teacher wants to use the equipment in his own classroom he has to do the following things between lessons:

(i) establish in which classroom the equipment is,

(ii) transport x headsets and x recorders to his own classroom; (and

possibly the broadcasting machinery—it was not clear if this item was portable. Incidentally if it is not, then the teacher has the further task of either arranging with someone to change the master lesson, or going to the room in which the broadcasting equipment is kept and changing the lesson himself). The transportation of the equipment will presumably entail taking his class to the classroom where the equipment was last used, collecting it, and returning to his own classroom. This process could take over a quarter of his lesson.

(c) It is surely more efficient and less time-wasting to take his class to a language laboratory room and pin up his visual aids or 'general background material' there.

The authors say that the headsets are of a 'very efficient sound excluding type'. If this is the case then they are as, or more, efficient than the normal laboratory sound-proofed booths. (The term 'sound-proofed' here refers to an ideal.) Consequently the student will not be in contact with the teacher aurally, though he may be visually. Aural contact is, at present, a greater problem in this new laboratory than in the conventional ones, because:

(i) The teachers has to move around the class plugging in to student recorders (so making the student aware that he is being monitored, and neutralizing a big advantage of the conventional laboratory).

(ii) There seems no way, with the exception of loud shouting or furious gesture, of establishing contact with all the students at once. (In most versions of the conventional language laboratory contact with the students can be established by throwing one or all of the switches provided for the purpose.)

(iii) If the monitoring facility is developed it would mean that the teacher who wished to use the equip-

ment in his own classroom would have yet another machine to carry round the corridors of his school.

In the learning loop system the improved visual contact between student and classroom teacher is relatively unimportant, pedagogically. With this system, by turning, the student can see through an arc of 360 degrees. If the teacher has a monitoring facility he is likely to stay at the front of the class, and so visual contact between teacher and students can be made in a visual field of 45 degrees. Further, there seems no obvious reason why visual aids cannot be exhibited in this visual field.

In most conventional laboratories the students' booths have either a glass panel in front, or no front at all, giving the student a visual field of about 90 degrees. This seems adequate. He cannot, of course, see his fellow students to each side of him, but this seems an advantage. The teacher can normally see all his pupils, and they him, and if he cannot then it is more likely to be a fault in the layout of the individual laboratory than a fault in the conventional system itself.

The advantages in the learning loop system seem to resolve into three. Firstly, there is no wiring in which electrical faults can develop. But there are still possibilities of electronic faults developing. Secondly, the idea of programmes being broadcast from outside the classroom could well be developed on a large scale, with perhaps, the B.B.C. broadcasting language laboratory lessons during their school broadcasts. But such broadcasts could equally well be utilized by a conventional type of language laboratory.

The third advantage is that of reduced cost. If this laboratory proves to be cheaper than the conventional type then this may be a deciding factor in selection, but the cost has yet to be quoted.

Question Box



1. Can you recommend one competent reference book, however large and costly, on prepositions and preposition phrases? I find H. E. Palmer's *A Grammar of English Words* very useful, but I really need a much more detailed and comprehensive book.

ANSWER. Prepositions are structure-words showing the relationships between meaningful words in sentences. Unlike nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, they have no definable lexical meanings. They therefore present difficulties to lexicographers and that is why a reference book devoted exclusively to prepositions would be hard to compile and not easy to use. Sometimes more than one preposition can be employed in one context or structure. Take, for instance, the noun *information*. Do you say *information on* or *about*? Both prepositions are acceptable. I myself tend to use *on* of things and *about* of persons, but I am probably not consistent. In answer to an inquiry I should say 'I have no information *on* Mr Smith's qualifications', but 'I have no information *about* Mr Smith'. Again, take the noun *study*. Do you say *study of*, *on*, or *in*? In the singular the commonest preposition is *of*: 'The proper study of mankind is man' (Pope). Richard Chenevix Trench called his famous book that did so much to awaken popular interest in language: *On the Study of Words* (1851). Over one century later Clive Staples Lewis entitled a similar book *Studies in Words* (1960), but James Anthony Froude called his well-known series of historical essays *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (1876-83).

It is indeed remarkable that a speaker can use two or three wrong prepositions in a sentence and yet what he says is completely intelligible!

You are right to praise Harold Edward Palmer's *A Grammar of English Words*. This is a valuable manual and it is exceptionally helpful with prepositions. Another useful book—but not, I am sorry to say, the one you seek—is *Standard Handbook of Prepositions, Conjunctions, Relative Pronouns and Adverbs* compiled by the editorial staff of the Funk and Wagnalls Company of New York (1953). [S.P.]

2. What is the origin of *le* in the name St Mary-le-Bow? It is, I suspect, Norman French, but I cannot find it recorded in any dictionary.

ANSWER. You are right. This *le* is indeed the Old and Modern French definite article which is not recorded in English dictionaries because it survives only in the proper names of buildings and places. St Mary-le-Bow is the official name of this beautiful London church, but people usually call it plain Bow Church and they define a Cockney as anyone born within the sound of its bells. *Bow* means 'curved' as in *bow window* and it refers to the arch or arches of the crypt. You will find a full and accurate account of this connective particle *le* in A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* (Cambridge University Press) 1956, Part II, p. 17. [S.P.]

3. I find the verb *change* rather hard to use correctly. Would you please tell me whether the following expressions are correct or not: (a) to change sides (meaning 'to pass from one party to its opposite'); (b) to change places (with one's neighbour); (c) to change shoes; and (d) to change country (meaning 'to move to another country')?

ANSWER. All these expressions are normal except (d), in which a small correction is needed. Either you put the object in the plural as in (a), (b), and (c), or you insert *one's* (or *my*, etc.) before it: to change countries, or to change one's country. The singular, it is true, can be used in the phrase *to change colour*, meaning 'to turn pale', or 'to blush', but it is best to regard this as a separate idiom.

The word *change* presents difficulties because it is so frequently used as both verb and noun. Let us look at the verb. It has four main uses:

(1) With a plural object, as in your excellent examples (a), (b), and (c). Here are some more examples:

John changes his clothes (before going to the theatre).

I have now changed my views (on capital punishment).

Mary changed her books (at the public library).

(2) With the preposition *for*: to change (=exchange) one thing for another:

John has decided to change his present job for another nearer home.

Can you change this ten-shilling note for four half-crowns?

(3) With the preposition *into*: to change (=transform) one thing into another:

The fairy queen changed the old woman into a young bride.

Can you change lead into gold?

(4) Absolutely, without any object expressed:

We are lucky. This is a through train, and we haven't to change.

The day began well, but soon the weather changed.

'I change, but I cannot die' (Shelley, *The Cloud*). [S.P.]

4. Can you explain why Lady Bracknell says 'Good morning, Mr Worthing!' when she is taking leave of Jack in Act I of *The Importance of Being Earnest*? It is clearly late afternoon. Has the use of 'Good morning!' any special significance in this context?

ANSWER. Yes, it certainly has. The whole of this long first act takes place between five and seven o'clock in the afternoon and early evening and Lady Bracknell therefore says quite naturally on her arrival: 'Good afternoon, dear Algernon, I hope you are behaving very well' (p. 42). But when she is leaving (p. 71) she is in a towering rage. 'Good morning, Mr Worthing!' she snaps out as (to quote the stage direction) she 'sweeps out in majestic indignation'. And Jack snaps back 'Good morning!' in reply.

It must not be thought that Lady Bracknell's 'Good morning!' and Jack's repetition of it are slips on the part of the author. Oscar Wilde, a careful writer, here intends to produce a special effect. A good actor will bring this out brilliantly on the stage by means of stress and intonation. You can say 'Good morning!' in a hundred different ways. Lady Bracknell's way of snapping it out thus, although it is late afternoon, expresses finality as well as utter disgust and contempt. She really means to say 'Good-bye! I'm done with you!'

Although Wilde's comedies, with their witty paradoxes and brilliant repartees, provide all students of English with excellent reading, they can be fully appreciated only when performed on the stage by skilful actors who are capable of bring out such fine points by means of pause, stress, tone and gesture. [S.P.]

5. In the third act of this same play Miss Cecily Cardew's solicitors are said to be Messrs Markby, Markby, and Markby (p. 211), but on the next page Lady Bracknell refers to 'one of the Mr Markby's.' Moreover, I note that Margaret Mitchell in her novel *Gone With the Wind* refers to the members of the Slaterry family as 'the Slaterrys'. Why not 'the Slatteries'? How do you account for these irregular forms?

ANSWER. Both texts, I am sorry to say, are somewhat untidy in this matter of the plurals of proper names.

According to strict usage, Lady Bracknell should have said 'one of the Markbies' or 'one of the Messrs Markby'; but in this 'trivial comedy' (as Wilde himself describes it) she is talking lightheartedly. What she says sounds well on the stage, but it looks odd in cold print.

The printer's reader should not have passed 'the Slatterys' when he was correcting the proofs of *Gone With the Wind*. At the same time it must be admitted that hard and fast rules cannot be laid down for the plurals of proper nouns. A name is a label and it has normally no plural form. People, for instance, might well refer to the members of the Dickens family as [ðə 'dikinzi:] in conversation, but they would pause before writing 'the Dickenses' in an official document. [S.P.]

6. Is *frig* or *fridge* the better spelling?

ANSWER. *Fridge* is quickly becoming the recognized form of this abbreviation of *refrigerator* because the pronunciation is [frɪdʒ] and not [frɪg]. Similar modified spellings of clipped words are *bike* for *bicycle*, *perks* for *perquisites*, and *telly* for *television*. Such abbreviations first arise in living speech and, if they become fashionable, they are gradually accepted by the community and they may then be taken as new words in their own right. Many Englishmen look upon *fridge* as an Americanism, but the Americans themselves rightly regard it as European and the editor designates *fridge* as 'chiefly British' in the Third Webster of 1961. [S.P.]

7. What is the explanation of the use of *is* in the phrase 'This is nothing to do with . . .'? Would 'This has nothing to do with . . .' be incorrect?

ANSWER. It is difficult to answer this question without seeing actual sentences in which the phrases occur. Both are idiomatic, and in many cases it would not make a great deal of difference which we used, though in some cases one might be preferable

to the other. Such distinction as exists between the two tends to get blurred because in spoken English, where they are commonest, both *is* and *has* are often contracted to *'s* after *it*, and sometimes also after *that*, so that it is not clear which we are using. Perhaps the most that can be said is that when *nothing to do with* means 'no concern of', the tendency is to use *is* ('If you choose to waste your money, that is nothing to do with me'), and when it means 'not connected with' the tendency is to use *has* ('The police are satisfied that the weapon discovered near the spot has nothing to do with the murder'). But this is only a generalization; one cannot be dogmatic, since *to do with* is used with so many different meanings. [F.T.W.]

8. When the abbreviation *etc.* is met with, should students be taught to pronounce it [ɪt'setə], or should they be encouraged to replace it by an expression such as *and so on*, *and so forth*, or even *and the like*, just as *viz.* can be pronounced *namely*?

ANSWER. It is usual to pronounce the abbreviation *etc.* in the way you suggest, and this is what should be taught. The abbreviation *viz.* is generally pronounced *namely*, although I have also heard [vɪz], while *e.g.* is pronounced either ['i: 'dʒi:] or *for example*, and *i.e.* either ['ai 'i:] or *that is*. *Op. cit.* is ['ɒp 'sit], *nem. con.* ['nem 'kɒn]. See also *Everyman's English Pronouncing Dictionary*, 12th edition, by Daniel Jones. [W.R.L.]

9. A reader from Holland asks whether the word *Dutch* is used in spoken English today in any other expressions than *Dutch courage*, *double Dutch*, *I'm a Dutchman if . . .* and *talk like a Dutch uncle*. He also inquires the exact meaning of the last of these.

ANSWER. The only others I know of are *Dutch auction* (a system of sale whereby the auctioneer names a price for the article he is selling, and

then gradually reduces it until he gets a bidder), and *go Dutch*. This last originated in the U.S.A., but is now heard in Britain. Originally, I believe, it was applied to the system whereby each member of a party on an outing brought his own food or refreshments with him; it now more often means that each member pays for his own food or refreshment, and makes himself responsible for any other expenses that are involved on his account. If a man takes a lady friend out he would normally be expected to pay the expenses for both; if they agree to go Dutch, she

pays her own expenses, and he pays his.

To *talk like a Dutch uncle* is to give very solemn and serious advice to one's juniors, often in a rather dictatorial or pompous fashion. Incidentally, *Dutch* is sometimes used instead of *double Dutch*, and a variant of *I'm a Dutchman if . . .* is . . . or *I'm a Dutchman*. There are, of course, several types of buildings or implements that have the word *Dutch* as part of their name (e.g. *Dutch barn*, *Dutch hoe*), but I take it that you are not concerned with these.

[F.T.W.]



Reviews

THE PRACTICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGES. Henry Sweet. O.U.P. 1964. (First published by Dent, 1899.) xiii+276 pp. 10s.

Who would believe that this astonishing book is nearly seventy years old, and not yet ready for retirement—not on any count. Why, it reads almost as if written yesterday: 'Of late years we have heard still more about experimental phonetics' (p. 45) and 'The second main axiom of living philology is that all study of language, whether theoretical or practical, (reviewer's italics) ought to be based on the spoken language' (p. 49)—an axiom triumphantly trumpeted forth, but even now not always honoured in the observance. Can, for instance, every lecturer on linguistics lay his hand on his heart and swear that he speaks and acts whole-heartedly in accordance with the truth that 'the real life of language is better seen in

dialects and colloquial forms of speech than in highly developed literary languages' (p. 50).

This is number one of a series 'Language and Language Learning' under the general editing of R. Mackin and P. D. Strevens, and has been followed by two more books (Nos. 2 and 5) which should never be allowed to be forgotten or fall into desuetude: Firth's *The Tongues of Men and Speech* and H. E. Palmer's *The Principles of Language Study*. We can applaud, and be thankful for the sound judgement and hard work of these two editors; and it is to be hoped that readers will not pass over Mackin's excellent Preface. The editors have made a few minor textual alterations and misprints have been corrected; so that we have, fortunately, 'an almost exact reprint of the original edition': all those who value Sweet's fine book will be grateful to the two editors for this reprint,

and to the Oxford Press for the excellence of their side of the production.

Almost every aspect of language and language teaching is dealt with adequately by Sweet, so that a complete list of contents is hardly called for; but reference to some of the sections, rather than to chapter headings, will no doubt reveal the interest and value of this important book. For instance, under Phonetics there are sections on 'Significant Sound-distinctions' and 'Superfluous Sound-distinctions'; under Pronunciation there are sections on 'Artificial Pronunciation', 'Degrees of Colloquialism' and 'Standards of Pronunciation'; under Method 'Relations between Texts, Grammar, and Vocabulary' are discussed and viewed as a practical problem of the classroom. We note, with pleasure, that 'There is . . . a pre-grammatical stage in every progressive course of linguistic study'.

There are many more interesting topics, many of them of serious concern at present, though we may have noted that Sweet wrote 'The first draft of this work was written out as far back as 1877'! In chapter 11 we have 'Evils of Separation of Syntax from Accidence'; in chapter 14 there is 'Thinking in the Foreign Language'; in chapter 19 'Teaching Children' and teaching adults are differentiated, and finally 'Mind-Training', in which various languages are considered; for instance, 'it is a question whether a study of it (Russian) would not prove as good a practical training in the use of an inflexional language as that of the classical languages'. And it may come as a surprise to many even well-informed people that 'English is one of the most complex languages that has ever existed'.

Though much of Sweet's thinking 'failed to secure the recognition due to it' at the turn of the century, those of us who are wise enough to read this book will without any doubt realize how much of Sweet's thinking is even now 'relevant to the language teaching situation of today'.

EVERYMAN'S ENGLISH PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY.

Daniel Jones. *Dent*. 12th edition, 1964. xlv + 539 pp. 21s.

The great English Pronouncing Dictionary of Daniel Jones has gone through many editions, and reprints of those editions, since it first appeared as long ago as 1917. It has been constantly revised and considerably enlarged over the intervening years—not only because many words and proper names had to be added, but because of the need to extend and amend the pronunciations shown. It should always be realized that the aim of the author is to show not how words *should* be pronounced, but how they *are* pronounced (by speakers of the particular form of English known as RP and carefully defined by the author in his Preface), and therefore, as current usage alters, it is necessary to alter entries accordingly.

Now for all those, especially foreign, speakers of English who wish to model their speech upon this form of the spoken language, it is of course the case that the way words *are* pronounced by RP speakers is also the way they *should* be pronounced. Nevertheless, so many acceptable alternative pronunciations of a given word exist *within* RP, that the EPD is obliged in many cases to list quite a number of these, and it is then a question for the learner as to which pronunciation to adopt for his own use. The author sets out to show which pronunciation appears to be the most widely used and thus likely to be the most widely acceptable (by listing it in first place); and in general the foreign speaker is well advised to adopt this form, unless he has good reason to wish to adopt one of the others. But, of course, usage is constantly changing, with the result that successive editions of the dictionary have, in numerous cases, to list the pronunciations in a different order, in an attempt to record the contemporary facts.

Even so, it is often possible for

anyone sensitive to the English language scene to disagree, as it were, with a pronunciation shown, or the order of listing—not on the grounds that an entry does not correspond with his own usage or preference (this would not be a valid reason for objecting), but because he differs from the compiler in his judgement as to what *is* the current RP usage. Thus, for example, I personally would have liked to see *migraine* (p. 539, in the latest Supplement) shown as 'maigreïn, 'mi:greïn, and I do not think I would have listed the form 'migrein at all, which is the *only* form given.

On the same page one finds the word *photogenic*, which I would have preferred to see recorded as follows: *photogenic*, fəʊtəʊ'dʒi:nik [-tə'dʒ-, -'dʒen-]. And I think for consistency with comparable words in the body of the Dictionary the word *hubris* might perhaps have appeared as 'hu:bris ['hju:-, 'çu:-], or possibly as *hubris* 'hju:bris ['çu:-].

It may perhaps be mentioned in conclusion that Professor Jones has now relinquished the formal editorship of the EPD, and that when the thirteenth edition comes out (in 1967) it will show as joint authors Daniel Jones and A. C. Gimson.

LANGUAGE IN AFRICA. Papers of the Leverhulme Conference on Universities and the Language Problems of Tropical Africa. Edited by J. Spencer. C.U.P. 1963. vii+167 pp. 21s.

'The conference was attended by linguistic specialists delegated by all African universities north of the Republic of South Africa and south of the Sahara, and by specialists from London and Paris. The principal subject was the general language situation today, with special reference to the three main international media, English, French and Arabic. The papers consider the political, social and educational aspects of language, especially the problems of multilingualism and relations with the

vernaculars.' In its final stages the conference was divided into four working parties, and these presented reports on 'The university's responsibility in the sphere of English, French and Arabic; the university and African language studies; Choice of a national language . . . Linguistic research.'

This is an important book; in part because the linguistic problems of Africa are so complex, so numerous, and so difficult of solution. It is important, too, because these problems require for their solution the best thought of the specialists, thorough discussion, and wide dissemination of knowledge and of sound policy. The conference itself was a wise move, and it is to be fervently hoped that further conferences and discussions will be arranged to carry on the work and achievements of the meetings that have taken place in 1961 and 1962 at Yaoundé, Ibadan, Dakar and Brazzaville.

In his Introduction—and the editor really does 'introduce' the work of the conference and its papers—he especially emphasizes the value of a vernacular in the education of a child; a value that needs to be kept in mind whenever one is thinking about and planning the manipulation of language situations; so important is this value that the editor's 'must' is worth quoting in its context: 'If the individual in Africa is to have some roots in the way of life into which he is born, and within which his earliest emotional and social experiences are set, he must learn some appreciation of his mother tongue and of the culture of his people.' We should, however, regret the lukewarmness of 'Some attention in linguistic pedagogy should therefore be paid to the teaching of African languages in schools'; for those of us who have actually seen what goes on in African schools know how urgent it is for teachers of the African mother tongues to understand the value and purpose of their work, and to master

the methods which will train their pupils' minds through the precise and penetrating use of their mother tongues.

Thus we see how important are many of the papers in this book: especially Vernacular Language Teaching in African Schools (by G. Fortune); Media of Instruction in Some Uganda School Classes (Peter Wingard); and Vernacular Languages and Cultures in Modern Africa (Robert G. Armstrong). We must also draw attention to the useful paper on instances of language imposition in past times by L. F. Brosnahan (who dealt only with Latin, Greek, Arabic and Turkish, but whose comments on the general features of these four instances are also particularly valuable).

There are in addition four more papers that call for extended comment, though in the space available this is not possible: they are Language And Independence by John Spencer; Les Problèmes Linguistiques Africains by Pierre Alexandre; L'Université et La Pureté du Langage by J. Mayer; Problems of Ghanaian *Lingue Franche* by R. F. Amonoo, and English in the Sudan by W. A. Murray. All these make especially noteworthy contributions to the problems they deal with, their usefulness being increased by their references to real situations today and to advisable practical procedures.

In spite of a number of points in some of the papers that one must query (or quibble at), such as 'The curriculum should aim at imparting an insight, again in ways appropriate to school education, into the nature of language so as to inspire real interest' (for *school children!*), there is a great deal in this book for everyone, even for the senior linguistic expert. We recommend it strongly for every university teacher in all faculties—law, economics, science, theology, as well as arts; perhaps even more for the non-arts faculties, because to understand the problems of language is to understand the problems of teaching one's

own subject in whatever faculty. And the problems of language that are discussed in this book are everyone's concern, and are becoming increasingly important.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF TEACHING FOREIGN

LANGUAGES. B. V. Belyayev.
Translated by R. F. Hingley.
Pergamon. 1963. ix+230 pp. 30s.

Because of the dearth of scholarly studies that deal exclusively with the psychology of teaching and learning a foreign language this book by the Professor of Methodology in the University of Moscow is greatly to be welcomed. It attempts to deduce a sound technique of language teaching in schools from psychological principles, and in this endeavour goes about as far as present knowledge will allow. Besides stressing the old distinction between language and speech, the author also emphasizes the distinction between skill and habit and between conscious and intuitive learning.

It is clear that the methods used in Russian schools are as outdated as they are in many schools in the West, though the author's criticisms of these methods are sometimes curiously ambiguous, as if he did not care to appear to disagree with them too openly. The so-called grammar-translation method is rightly dismissed out of hand (its continued use is called an 'organizational mistake') and it is amply proven that 'the decisive factor governing the full assimilation of a foreign language is linguistic practice, i.e. speech in the foreign language in all its forms and basic processes'. Although language teaching in schools is necessarily a conscious process, the teacher's main aim must be to develop a feeling for the language being taught, for without such a feeling 'the central foreign-language ability' of thinking in the foreign language cannot be achieved. Parrot-like repetition is useless and practice must be given through a variety of exercises. Ordinary trans-

lation is excluded, but since some room still needs to be left for a theoretical study of the language there may be a place for literal translation 'as one of the techniques of explaining the characteristics of thought in a foreign language'.

A useful but difficult chapter is devoted to the nervous and physiological bases of using a foreign language. Although our knowledge of cerebral mechanisms is far from complete it seems certain that each foreign language learnt involves the formation of a special 'dynamic stereotype' in the cortex of the large cerebral hemisphere; and, furthermore, that such stereotypes are more easily formed independently of the native language.

The professional linguist may find this book irritating, since it does not take into account his particular science; but the practising teacher cannot fail to be interested in it. There is one serious weakness and one drawback. The weakness is that while laying great emphasis on the necessity of thinking in the foreign language the writer fails to analyse the nature of this kind of 'thinking'. One would have thought that such an analysis was vital to the author's main contention. The drawback is the complete absence of references to sources or authorities of any kind, and of an index. The translation is well done, but thirty shillings for a limp-cover book of modest length is unusually expensive.

EXERCISES ON THE ENGLISH

VERB. J. G. Bruton, C.U.P. 1965.
96 pp. 5s.

This is an admirably worked out little book, and a great deal is packed between its covers. On the whole it is for advanced students, but teachers of intermediate and also elementary pupils will find much in it of direct use to them. There are 108 exercises and a key, but (regrettably) no index. Each exercise is preceded by a short note, plainly worded, on the grammatical point concerned. It is

clear that these notes are based, in general, on accurate observation and careful thought about English usage.

Very many of the exercises ask for a series of sentences to be expressed in another way. Here, also, lie some of the drawbacks of unconnected utterances. On the other hand, the 'transformations' are not of the pointless and unhelpful type often met with in textbooks, e.g. Change the following sentences from Present to Past Simple. Rather they involve, as a rule, the conversion of one piece of acceptable English into another of identical or similar meaning. Exercise 36, for instance, is preceded by the note: '*Should* also indicates moral obligation: "If you see a blind man waiting to cross the street, you should help him".' The student is then asked to change, using *should*, such sentences as *Always tell the truth* and *Tell him what happened*. This type of exercise brings the learner repeatedly back to illustrations of the point explained, and thus impresses the usage on the memory.

Other types of exercises which feature prominently include gap-filling and matching together parts of a sentence.

The exercises are based on a verb-scheme given in outline at the beginning of the book. This scheme lists the essential facts from the viewpoint of the use of plain stem forms, forms consisting of *to*+stem, forms with *-ed*, and forms with *-ing*.

Two criticisms may be offered of a fresh and useful piece of work. First, alternate answers are sometimes possible which are not mentioned in the key. In Exercises 58 and 8, for instance, *promises*, *seems*, and *appears* are all possible, though in different situations. In Exercise 1, A1 can go with B1 or 4, and A4 with B2, 3, 8, or 9. Secondly, the explanation is very occasionally more difficult than the example explained, as on page 27, where *Can you lend me £5?* is said to mean *Are you in a position to lend me £5?*

All in all, however, this is a most welcome five shillings worth.

SIMPLE AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS TO FOREIGN-LANGUAGE

TEACHING. W. R. Lee and
Helen Coppen. *O.U.P.* 1964. iv+
122 pp. 5s.

Although this book is intended chiefly for teachers of English as a foreign or second language, it contains ideas which can very profitably be used for the teaching of any foreign language.

Part I explains how aids can be used effectively in foreign-language teaching; Part II gives detailed and very practical advice on how to make simple visual aids; and appendices contain a select bibliography of books and magazine articles; names and addresses of organizations from which pictures for decorating the English language classroom can be obtained; a list of materials from which visual aids can be made; a list of wall pictures, charts, etc.; and lists of films, film-strips, and gramophone records suitable for foreign-language work. These various lists contain prices, and addresses from which the various items can be obtained.

Since the book deals with *simple* aids, far more space is naturally given to visual than to audio aids. Whereas a teacher can himself make a considerable range of visual aids easily and cheaply enough, the only really simple audio aid which he has is his own voice. Thus, while the chapter on the use of aids gives valuable advice both on audio and on visual aids, the chapter on the making of aids deals only with visual ones. When the authors reprint, they might consider adding to their bibliography the article 'Some Uses of the Tape-Recorder In and Outside the English Classroom' (*E.L.T.*, XV, 3) by L. A. Hill, to help teachers with the preparation of tapes.

A further suggested addition to the bibliography is David Horsburgh's adaptation of H. G. Ramshaw's 'Blackboard Work' for use in India (Oxford University Press, 1959).

'Simple Audio-Visual Aids' can be strongly recommended both to the

teacher who is already a convinced believer in such aids and to the teacher who thinks they are too much trouble. The first type of teacher will find in the book a rich source of fresh and really up-to-date ideas and materials; and the second will discover that it is by no means as difficult as he had thought to find and/or make effective aids.

As for the teacher-training college, this book provides it with all that is needed for an excellent course on aids.

ENGLISH VERBAL IDIOMS.

F. T. Wood. *Macmillan.* 1964.
vi+325 pp. 18s.

All experienced teachers of English as a foreign language will be well aware of the problem of the 'phrasal verb' (or 'prepositional verb', 'verbal unit', or 'verbal compound', as it has been variously styled). Its nature is clearly explained by Barbara Strang (*Modern English Structure*, 1962, p. 157 ff); she takes the sentence 'I came across the fields this morning' and contrasts it with 'I came across an old friend this evening'. In the first example, she points out, 'if we know the meaning of the separate items and the grammatical pattern, we know the meaning of the remark'; in the second 'the words *come across* form an idiom, a unit which has to be learnt as a whole and cannot be understood by deduction from the meaning of its parts'. The English language has a remarkable capacity for forming such phrasal verbs and they can present a major difficulty for the foreign learner (and for his teacher). There is no short cut: all that can be done is for teacher and pupil alike to be fully aware of this tendency in the language and for them to seize every opportunity of identifying examples and thus to become familiar with those which are in everyday usage.

It was therefore a good idea of F. T. Wood's to produce a guide to verbal compounds, as he prefers to call them. His book is arranged like a

dictionary; the entries are listed in alphabetical order of the verbal elements of the compounds and then the meaning is given, followed by several examples. Looking up the compound quoted in the first paragraph, one finds:

COME ACROSS. Come upon, find or meet by chance.

While searching amongst some papers in an old trunk she came across a diary which had apparently been kept by her great-grandfather.

Amongst the many people you have met, have you ever come across an antiquarian bookseller by the name of Simpson?

The passive use is rare, but not impossible. The papers were stored away in a secret place, and there they will probably remain until they are come across by someone who realizes their importance.

Most people, however, would say 'until someone comes across them' or 'until they are discovered by someone'.

There are similarly helpful entries for a large number of verbal compounds.

Unfortunately, from some points of view, Mr Wood has included a great deal of additional material. In the words of his preface: 'non-compounds have been added (a) if they are used in a special sense different from the normal one with which the student may be acquainted, (b) if they are characterized by some peculiarity of usage which affects their meaning . . . and (c) if they have grammatical peculiarities to which attention should be drawn.' This has resulted in the inclusion of a large number of idiomatic, colloquial, and slang phrases. The value of this material can best be judged from some typical entries:

HOLD THE BABY. Assume the responsibility, or be burdened with a task, that should be shared by others. (Slang)

After promising to help me organize the trip, one by one they slipped out and left me to hold the baby.

Not used in the passive.

PLAY HELL. Display great anger. (Slang, bordering on profane)

The farmer played hell about the way his crops had been damaged by people trespassing on his land.

Also play hell with someone.

When he saw the havoc the boys had wrought in his flower beds he played hell with them.

Sometimes, especially when the subject is a non-personal one, the meaning is the same as *play havoc*.

Not used in the passive. Note, however, the construction 'there'll be hell to play about this' (not *hell will be played*).

(The reviewer cannot help remarking that Mr Wood seems to have confused this with the other slang phrase, not noted, 'there'll be hell to *pay* about this'.)

SHOW ONE'S FACE. Appear.

He was so ashamed of his conduct that he dared not show his face at the club for a long time afterwards.

I would be wrong to criticize the author too much for including a few phrases which are rarely, if ever, used in standard English. He sometimes makes unnecessarily fine distinctions between the various meanings he gives for the same phrase, but again, this is a relatively unimportant matter. The user of the book, by studying the examples given of each meaning, will be able to decide for himself which subdivisions of meaning are valid for his own purposes.

Mr Wood has been careful to indicate when a phrase is colloquial and when it is slang, and because he includes much up-to-the-minute idiomatic usage overseas readers of recent novels and plays may find in *English Verbal Idioms* an explanation of phrases they had been unable to find in ordinary dictionaries. But it is a weakness that the book does not distinguish clearly enough between verbal compounds which the student needs to know and to be able to use himself and the colloquial or slang expressions which would sound most incongruous except from an Englishman. The preface states that the notes on verbal compounds form about nine-tenths of this book. A rough sampling by the present reviewer indicated that it is rather less than half. This does not mean that the other half is not, for the most part, a useful compilation, but the intending purchaser should be aware of what he is getting. Provided it is used as a reference book and not as a source of teaching material, the book will be worth a place on the shelves of all overseas teachers of English.

A GUIDE THROUGH ENGLISH LITERATURE. John Parry. *U.L.P.* 1963. 244 pp. 8s. 6d.

'This book gives a brief account of the main streams of development of English literature... the literature of Great Britain'; so says the Preface. The main streams of course are Poetry, Drama, Prose, Fiction, a chapter to each, with a final chapter *English Writing Today*, also with the separate sections: Poetry, Drama, Novels, General Prose.

This appears to be a history of literature, but it is better than that: the main works of each writer are described—with clarity, brevity and careful judgement, and often with elucidating or critical comment; for instance, 'In *Hero and Leander* Christopher Marlowe (1564-93) was more successful. He uses a rich profusion of images, colour and daring extravagances, and tells the romantic story with a brilliant cynicism. His use of decasyllabic rhyming couplets gives his story greater pace than Shakespeare achieved.'

Throughout, the book is most readable, and though many—perhaps most—of the comments and descriptions present very little that is new, yet in selection and expression there is a delightful freshness which make it a pleasure to read; for instance: 'Every aspect of his (Donne's) existence contributed towards his poetic mood and much of his present appeal is in the fullness of the experience which his poems offer' and 'His lines are often in the rhythm of urgent speech'.

Sound and often illuminating as many of the brief judgements are, yet teachers who use the book with their classes should always keep in mind that this is a *guide* to English literature, as its title emphasizes, so that it should not be used as a substitute for reading the works themselves. Its value is to point out where we should look for what is important in English literature, and the paths we should follow to give our reading

coherence and continuity; it is a guide to explain and make more understandable the thoughts and creations of the great writers; it is to enlighten, not to instruct, and to increase our appreciation and enjoyment, not as a textbook to be learnt (and perhaps be examined on); but as a play of light on what might be darkly obscure or perhaps merely thick and hazy intellectually. How unutterably wrong it would be to spoil a good book by making or encouraging students to memorize the comments and judgements and to repeat them as though they were of more value than the poems, plays or prose works themselves.

THE ELEMENTS OF INDIRECT SPEECH in Tables and Exercises. D. Byrne. *Longmans*. 1965, 42 pp. 3s.

A very good point about this little book is that a context of use is well indicated for all the examples. It is no good trying to master reported speech without taking full notice of the situation in which it is reported. Here the student is directed to the appropriate form through the situation.

The sentence patterns are introduced by means of substitution tables, so that many examples of the pattern are practised before the exercises are worked. These are plentiful, and consist chiefly of the completion and 'rewrite' types.

The book is divided into five sections: Statements (1), Commands and requests, Statements (2), Questions, and Passages for practice. Explanations are brief and clear. The text is brightened and clarified by pin-men (stick-figure) drawings.

Because usage is probably changing, the sequence of tenses in reported speech is not easy to write about. Mr Byrne has steered a middle course between the old-fashioned grammar-book, with its rigid and unreliable rules, and wild innovation based on too few instances. His book is a safe guide and may be recommended to

intermediate and advanced students of English and their teachers.

One quibble: why are there no full stops at the ends of the sentences in the substitution tables?

ELEMENTARY STORIES FOR REPRODUCTION. L. A. Hill.

O.U.P. 1965, 65 pp. 2s. 6d.

This is a collection of 56 amusing anecdotes, each about 150 words long, written within a 1,000-word vocabulary given at the back of the book. The only tenses used are the present simple and continuous, the present perfect, the future and *will* and *going to*, and the past simple and continuous. The subject-matter of the anecdotes is varied, and on the whole they should have a wide appeal. Seventeen are about the semi-mythical Turkish Nasreddin.

Each anecdote is followed by a few straightforward questions on the subject-matter, and a one-page introduction gives advice on how to use the book for oral work, reading, and writing exercises. These hints might well have been expanded into fuller suggestions.

Teachers will find this book useful in teaching English at an intermediate stage, especially to adults: most but not all of the stories are suitable for children.

THE ENGLISH WE USE FOR SCIENCE. R. A. Close. *Longmans*. 1965. xi+212 pp. 6s. 6d.

'The present book has been designed to provide English practice specifically for students whose main subject is a scientific one.' Science students, says the author, must begin by acquiring a foundation of general-purpose English; they should then concentrate on the English which is 'commonly used for scientific purposes'; and finally, they should study 'the particular idiom of their own special field'.

It is with the second of these three stages that R. A. Close's new book

is concerned. At first sight it appears to be a collection of passages from modern English writing on scientific subjects, but it is more a study-book than an anthology. Students are meant to work through all the passages and to do the exercises, which are an essential part of the book.

The passages themselves are roughly graded into three levels of difficulty and are varied in subject-matter. Some are fairly general (as in the sections headed 'Science: its Nature and Importance' and 'Where is Science Leading Us?'), while others deal with particular branches of science (as in the sections entitled 'Engineering' and 'In Search of Food'). Many of the extracts will interest the educated reader without special scientific training.

There are brief but accurate and useful comments (see pages 5-8 and 13-14) on some of the characteristics of scientific English, and fairly detailed guidance is given as to how the passages can and should be used. The exercises on content and language which appear at the end of each extract are based on advice given in the introduction. There is an index of the points treated in such exercises, which, the author says, are 'devised mainly as studies in a form of written English, and then as training in hearing that kind of English spoken and in using it in original speech and writing'. These exercises should be studied in conjunction with the author's remarks on scientific English. Throughout the touchstone is usage rather than rules: the student is urged to 'observe and imitate usage'. 'If in doubt as to what is *correct*, the teacher and student should assume that the expression actually used in the text is correct and perfectly safe to use.' This is sound and practical advice.

The passages have been well selected from the viewpoint of interest, and the exercises strike deep. The book is strongly to be recommended to all students of scientific texts in English who want to improve

their grasp of the medium while continuing to read within the scientific field. It is also a most valuable book for their teachers.

TEACHING FRENCH TO JUNIORS. L. R. Cole. *U.L.P.* 96 pp. 5s.

Normally a book on the teaching of French would not be reviewed in these pages. This one, however, contains so much of general application to foreign-language teaching in the classroom, and is so full of good sense, that it deserves to be noticed here.

Foreign languages have but recently been introduced in British primary schools. The author of this book is a practising teacher of French in such a school, and clearly much of what he says springs from his own classroom experience.

The advice given is on the whole sound, and is expressed clearly. There are particularly good chapters on 'The Technique of Oral Questioning' and 'The Need for Activity'. It is a pity the book is so short, for some of the points might be more telling if further illustrated. A graver fault is that far too little is said about songs and games, and less still about team and group activity. In the chapter on reading and writing no mention is made of flashcards. A still bigger omission is that, though the value of questions as a language-teaching *tool* is clearly brought out, we are not told how the children are to be given sufficient practice in the use of the questions themselves.

In spite of such shortcomings the book is well worth reading and may confidently be recommended to young language-teachers as a preliminary guide. Older teachers will also find much in it to ponder over. What is more, nearly everything the author says is applicable also to the teaching of languages in the secondary school, i.e. to children of eleven and upwards.

There is a short bibliography. Why is *The Meaning of Meaning* included?

Gurrey's and Billows's books do not, excellent as they are, give a 'comprehensive' picture of 'the modern approach to language teaching'. For 'Jespersen' read 'Jespersen'.

ADVANCED ENGLISH PRACTICE. B. D. Graver. xii + 195 pp. *O.U.P.* 1963, 6s. 6d.

This book is intended for foreign students of English at about Cambridge Proficiency level. Some of the exercises are not too easy to be of use to English students, and one or two were found quite stiff by an arts graduate and a VI form boy.

The introduction provides, besides the usual account of the content and aim of the book, notes for the teacher which should greatly enhance its value for the foreign-born or inexperienced teacher, or for the advanced student using this as a do-it-yourself practice book. There is a useful bibliography, grouped by subjects and by grade (teacher's or pupil's books), and some notes on examinations for foreign students, other than those of the Cambridge Syndicate.

The first section revises 'the fundamentals of grammar' and gives practice in such points as position of adverbs, the conditional sentence, and the passive. There are fifty-three exercises in this section, each providing from ten to twenty examples, and a further twenty exercises in reported speech, both isolated sentences and connected passages.

Section Two, giving practice in different kinds of subordinate clauses and in sentence synthesis, is carefully graded to lead students on to free composition in complex sentences. This may be likened to teaching the baby to use the stairs safely; it is more worth while in the end than trying to curb 'what they will inevitably attempt'. There are thirty-two exercises in this section, some requiring quite original contributions and not mere 'tinkering about' with words.

The third section of the book is on

vocabulary work. Its 145 exercises provide valuable examination practice and will save teachers a lot of time in the collection of material. They are designed to test rather than to teach, and unless the students are already exceptionally well read, it would be best to prepare the exercises orally and consolidate the gains in vocabulary by written homework.

Section Four, 'Composition Work', consists of practice in the writing of paragraphs and in the marshalling of arguments 'for' and 'against' a motion. Fifty composition titles are suggested, and twenty kinds of letter.

In an appendix, more detailed treatment is given to relative pronouns, gerunds and participles, conditional sentences, and clause analysis, with twenty-eight sentences of varying length for analysis.

There are some obscurities in the book. '*I am sure there is no-one here but . . .* Complete with an adjectival clause. *But* used as a relative pronoun is equivalent to *that . . . not*.' The student who can cope with this ought to be teaching English. We are told on page six that *no doubt* is a sentence adverb. This term has not been used or explained. The bigamy joke, *my wife who lives in France*, is getting well-worn as a way of teaching defining and non-defining relatives.

This book lives up to its title. It is advanced, but it is also well-designed to lead the learner progressively forward. It gives a wealth of practice in its preponderance of exercises. Above all, it is English. The style is that of a good English newspaper and it is free from awkward 'grammarians' examples'.

Books and Periodicals Noted

Teaching English as a Foreign or Second Language:

EDUCATION THROUGH ENGLISH. The Use of English in African Schools. Eva Engholm. C.U.P. 1965, 25s.

LANGUAGE - TEACHING GAMES AND CONTESTS. W. R. Lee. O.U.P. 1965. 6s. 6d.

Teaching English:

ENGLISH TEACHING IN SOUTH AFRICA. Grahamstown Publications. 1964.

TEACHING ENGLISH. J. H. Walsh. Heinemann. 1965. 21s. (English as a mother tongue.)

Teaching Foreign Languages:

PAPERS IN LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE TEACHING. P. D. Strevens. Language and Language Learning Series, No. 9. O.U.P. 1965. 8s. 6d.

Linguistics:

STUDIES IN PHONETICS AND LINGUISTICS. D. Abercrombie. Language and

Language Learning Series, No. 10. O.U.P. 1965. 8s. 6d.

The English Language:

ENGLISH IDIOMS AT WORK. Idioms with Verbs. K. Methold. Eastern Universities Press, for U.L.P. 1964. Book 1, 6s. 6d. Book 2, 7s.

'CAN' AND 'MAY' IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH. Y. Lebrun. Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles. 1965. 160 Belg. frs.

Conversation and Speech Work:

CONVERSATION EXERCISES IN EVERYDAY ENGLISH. M. F. Jerrom and L. L. Szkutnik. Longmans. 1965. Book 1 and two tapes, 55s.

COMMUNICATION IN SPEECH. A. Wise. Longmans. 1965. 10s. 6d.

SPOKEN ENGLISH. A. Wilkinson and others. University of Birmingham Educational Review, Occasional Publications, No. 2. 1965.

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English Language Teaching

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Editor W. R. LEE

EDITORIAL

IN WISHING our readers all over the world a happy New Year, one is conscious of the very different circumstances under which they live and teach. Between them they are faced with a broad range of problems and opportunities, so much so that a reasonable answer to most of the questions that can be asked about language-teaching must necessarily begin 'It depends...'.

Thus what should be included in a syllabus depends on the extent to which English is spoken outside the school, on the ages and experience of the pupils, on the length and aims of the course. The best age at which to begin learning a language depends on the methods of teaching used, on the supply of suitably trained teachers, on the availability of suitable textbooks. The order in which the language material can best be absorbed depends in part on teaching conditions and the vehicle of transmission—a classroom teacher working with or without a textbook, a textbook in the absence of a teacher, a textbook without pictures, a textbook with many pictures, tape, gramophone records, radio broadcasts, films, TV programmes, or any combinations of these: and each has its limitations but also uniquely suggests possibilities. And so on—one might continue for a long time to list such questions and to point out the need for a qualified and complicated answer to every one.

What this amounts to is that language-teaching theory is not a matter of a few simple tenets to be learnt by rote and applied in a simple-minded straightforward way to any set of circumstances. There may be guiding principles, but these will cease to guide if they are not looked at and interpreted afresh in the light of every local and particular situation. We must take a close look at the trees and not be satisfied with a view of the wood.

What Qualifications do we need for the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language? (1)

R. A. CLOSE

(For Professor P. Gurrey)

TWO REQUIREMENTS are essential, though often taken for granted.

KNOWING ENGLISH

The first requirement is that we should know English. This may be taken to mean either:

(a) being able fully to understand it when it is used in speech or in writing as real communication; to react to it spontaneously in the same medium; and to use it ourselves correctly, i.e. in accordance with established and widely accepted conventions as to word usage, word order, idiom, speech sounds, stress, intonation, spelling, and such details as punctuation and the use of capital letters; or

(b) knowing its structure, in rather the same way as a medical student would have to know human anatomy, or an engineer know the parts of a machine; or

(c) knowing a logical, classified systematization of it, with the relevant terminology.

Of these three ways of knowing English, the essential for us—I mean teachers in the classroom—is (a). We must be masters of English in the sense of having completely adopted the linguistic habits of people who speak it as to the manner born. We must know intuitively whether such-and-such a construction is or is not in the spirit of the language: we must have, for English, that kind of linguistic sense and be able to act according to it. Above all, we should be able to *speak* English. (The saying 'Those who can, do; those who can't, teach' should *not* apply here.)

Apart from the obvious rule that a teacher of any subject should be in complete command of it, there are two special reasons why (a) is indispensable.

One, the learner will, at the beginning at least, absorb much more from our example than from his textbook. We must therefore always be giving good models—in the way we pronounce and present the material in the textbook; in the commands we give in English in the classroom; in whatever we write on the blackboard:

in corrections to students' exercises; in the original expressions we may use in ringing the changes on a pattern we are trying to teach or in a natural act of communication.

Two, and most important, in learning a new language the pupil acquires a 'gift of tongues', an essential spirit which still remains miraculous despite scientific probings into it. In teaching a language successfully, we bestow that gift on others striving to possess it. The process of bestowal is more than 'the presentation and drilling of structures and lexical items' (to use the current professional terminology); and to describe it as 'equipping the learner with a variety of skills' is to make the mystery plainer than it is. It involves the transmission of a 'feeling' for the language and of a command of it, a process which cannot be fully achieved unless the giver's own grasp of the language is confident and secure. Learners can acquire that feeling and command through receptive attention to the usage of good speakers and writers who are not teachers at all. But that only proves the point: the learner receives the 'gift of English' from those who possess it already.

While knowledge of English in that sense is an essential qualification for the teaching of it, it is not, of course, sufficient in itself. It is enough for an 'informant' who does no more than give genuine examples of usage in a natural context. An 'informant', so long as he does not pretend to teach, can be of more use to learners than an unsatisfactory teacher can. An immense amount of English is, after all, *learnt* and learnt correctly, from people who are by no means qualified to teach.

Since knowledge of English in that sense is an essential qualification for teaching, we must be continually maintaining our mastery of the language. This is not a question of amassing a large and curious vocabulary and collection of 'idioms', but rather of being able to produce the pronunciation, word, pattern, or spelling appropriate to any one of a great number of recurring situations, and doing so unhesitatingly and accurately. In order to achieve that kind of mastery, we may need, more than once in our career after leaving school, *a thorough and systematic review of the whole groundwork of English phonology, grammar, and orthography*. A 'remedial' course composed of contextless structural drills on disconnected aspects of the language may not suffice: it is often a systematic review of the whole groundwork that is needed. On top of that, we must read and keep up our reading in English; listen frequently to good recordings and radio broadcasts; and, when we have the chance, listen to live lectures and take part in natural conversation in the language. That many teachers need, first and most of all, to improve their proficiency in the language is evident from mistakes in their own written compositions; from their 'corrections' of their students' exercises; or from the difficulty

that a native English speaker, sitting at the back of the classroom without a book, would have in understanding what they are saying.

With regard to the second way in which we might know English, it is desirable that we should also be able to analyse the structure of the language; but, for the rank and file of teachers in the classroom, that is not *essential*. There are many people who can actually *teach* better without that ability than others who have it. Dancers can perform superbly without having studied anatomy. If a ballerina, in the middle of her performance, started thinking what her muscles ought to be doing, she might get all tangled up. Teachers of English can get themselves and their pupils hopelessly tangled up by attempting linguistic analysis too soon, or by going so far into it yet not far enough. *The best-equipped teachers are no doubt those who have a practical command of English, reinforced by a sound knowledge of English linguistic structure.* But it may take several years of study to reach that stage—more time than perhaps even the majority of prospective teachers can afford to give up. With all they have to do apart from studying English, and with the preoccupation of earning a living, comparatively few can become linguistic experts. It is very important that teachers as a whole should be taught English in the first place, and should then teach it to others, through materials devised on modern linguistic principles. But if a choice has to be made, for the ordinary teacher, between practical command of the language and theoretical knowledge of its structure, then the former should come first. If we have the latter without the former, we lack the 'essential spirit' of the language and cannot pass on to our pupils a full command of it. We may, it is true, be able to pass on some of the elements of which that command is composed; but the chances are that what we would really be passing on would be our own training course notes on linguistic analysis.

On this last point, there is often a misunderstanding of the relative positions of linguists and practising teachers. That is largely because the whole field of language is, or rather has become, so vast that the gap between linguistics and ordinary classroom teaching cannot be bridged in one span. Indeed, at least three spans are needed to cover it, thus:



Stage 1 is concerned with the study of pure linguistics, including (in this context) a linguistic analysis of English. Stage 2, the application of selected results of that study to the general problems of English language teaching. Stage 3, the application of the results of 1 and 2 to special, including regional, circumstances and purposes, through the production of syllabuses and teaching materials,

and training for particular needs. Stage 4, the application of the results of 3 to classes hoping for something they can understand. Naturally, 'trained linguists' and 'trained teachers' tend to carry the knowledge and terminology (or simply the notes) they have picked up at one stage, over to the next, forgetting to limit themselves to a discreet application of selected knowledge which should be kept at the back of their minds. Thus, while a thorough knowledge of English linguistic structure is a *sine qua non* at Stage 1, and important at Stages 2 or 3, it is only an indirect application of it that is wanted at Stage 4.

With regard to the *third* way of knowing English—knowing a logical, classified scheme—there is always a tendency for language study to become just that. For many centuries in Europe, learning a language meant learning its 'grammar', i.e. learning a logical systematization, with all its divisions, sub-divisions, rules, exceptions, and terminology, thought up by grammarians (perhaps originally in order to teach the language to 'foreigners') and passed on as dogma from one generation of pedagogues to another. In some countries it is still on traditional dogma, rather than on the language itself, that students of English are examined. In accordance with that dogma, we learnt that in English there are eight parts of speech and four categories of nouns. We learnt that the feminine of *fox* was *vixen* and the plural of *court martial* was *courts martial*—though how many of us have ever come across *courts martial* except in a grammar book? This old pedantry has now been discarded (though not everywhere yet, by any means), and is being replaced by a new science. Human nature will in no time turn this new science into a new pedantry; and a new pedantry can quickly grow around phonemes, morphemes, structures, and linguistic analysis, just as it grew around gerunds, gerundives, subjunctives, and parsing. What is important in the new science, for us, is not its set of categories and technical terms, which we would always be tempted to impose on others, but that it should confer upon us and indirectly upon our pupils a surer command of the language itself.

CAPACITY TO TEACH

The second essential requirement often taken for granted is that we should be capable of teaching. That implies, of course, more than giving forth knowledge—or notes. It implies imparting something *to somebody*—to a person or to persons whose viewpoint, attitude, experiences, and associations are very different from our own. We must be capable of helping somebody else learn something that is a complete mystery to him, something perhaps that he has little desire to know. We talk a great deal about English

language *teaching*, often forgetting that it is the *learning* that really matters if our efforts are to succeed. The capacity to enable somebody else to learn is, again, a 'gift'. It can be developed, strengthened, and guided by training, supervision, and experience. It cannot, I believe, be created by training if it is not in us already. It requires intuition, insight, patience, the gift of understanding other people as distinct from comprehending the linguistic forms they produce, the capacity to attract and hold attention and to make ourselves understood sympathetically—faculties and qualities that training courses cannot do much about. It requires, above all, the ability to put ourselves in the learner's place. For that reason, all of us could benefit from learning another new language once or twice in our career, to remind ourselves of what it feels like to be at the receiving end. There we would realize how important it is for the teacher to speak audibly and pleasantly; to talk about something that interests *us*; not to confuse us with explanations, with theory, with pedantry old or new; and to know when to keep quiet, so as to allow what we have heard or read to sink in. Unless we have and develop such powers, no amount of modern methodology will make us good teachers, and we should be better advised to turn to research, administration, or some other job.

The capacity to teach has to be cultivated so that it produces the ability to teach effectively and to get the best results possible in the circumstances. Hence the need for instruction in general teaching method—in selecting what and how much to present, in planning a lesson, utilizing visual, auditory, and kinetic experience, appealing to curiosity and interest, using time-honoured classroom procedures such as repetition in chorus, revision, dictation, and other written exercises.

We have agreed that knowledge of English in sense (a) is not in itself sufficient qualification to teach it. Nor is the ability to teach in general. Nor is a combination of both. But both together can take us a very long way, whereas lack of one or the other would not get us far as teachers of English, however much we know about linguistic theory and language teaching techniques.

(*To be concluded*)

Note for our contributors. Would-be contributors are urged to send in outlines or suggestions *only*, to begin with, and not complete articles. Contributions should be specially written for *E.L.T.*, which does not now publish articles that have previously appeared elsewhere.

Transformation and Sequence in Pronunciation Teaching

ALEXANDER BAIRD

Institute of Education, London

THE TYPES of exercise to be discussed have been used with adult learners of English, graduate teachers for the most part, who had had no formal training in pronunciation before. As a result, much of the work is of a remedial nature. Although many drills and exercises were available for the segmental sounds, it proved impossible to find anything at the suprasegmental level which was suitably graded.

One of the main causes of unintelligibility in the English spoken in India is the difficulty which a speaker of a syllable-timed mother tongue, such as French or Japanese finds in transferring to the stress-timed rhythm of English.¹ For this reason exercises were first devised with a view to drawing the attention of the student to the nature of stress in English. Here are some examples of this kind of exercise.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| (a) 'permit | per'mit |
| 'object | ob'ject |
| 'conduct | con'duct |
| (b) I 'think it 'is. | I 'think it is. |
| It's a 'new 'book. | It's a 'new book. |
| (c) 'Boys 'need 'money. | The 'boys will be 'needing some 'money. |
| We 'can't 'see anything. | It's im'possible to 'see anything. |

This kind of material is recorded on tape by a native speaker of English and the students are required first of all to make a written response. Each student has a printed copy of the text in front of him and he needs simply to mark the stresses. He is allowed to listen as many times as he likes, and if he makes a mess of his paper he can call for a new sheet. At this stage every assistance is given to him to follow the recorded material. Thus he is not involved in any effort to catch what is said and is able to concentrate his attention on the task in hand, the identification of stresses.

¹In a stress-timed utterance the stressed syllables tend to occur at equal intervals of time, the intervening syllables being reduced in prominence. Speakers of syllable-timed languages tend to give approximately equal prominence to all syllables.

This is followed as soon as possible by a production class using the same material. Again, in the early stages, the student is allowed to retain a corrected copy of his written work, so that he can concentrate on making the stresses at the right places and does not have to worry about what the right places may be.

The next stage comes after the student has been introduced to the concept of the 'nucleus' or 'tonic'.¹ Preliminary exercises help him to identify kinetic tones, and subsequently to produce them. Imitation of the native speaker's rising and falling tones does not normally present very much difficulty. The exercises are far from complicated, starting with the same monosyllable said with different tones, going on to simple phrases containing merely a nucleus, and ending with phrases containing one pretonic² or more as well as the nucleus and a 'tail'.

On the principle that the position of the nucleus is of paramount importance, now is the time for the introduction of two or more phrases or sentences in sequence. Here are some examples:

'What's your 'name?

And 'what's 'your name?

He 'came into the 'room.

He 'saw us 'sitting there.

He was sur'prised to see us sitting there.

They 'came to a 'river.

There were a 'lot of 'fish in the river.

They 'didn't 'catch any fish.

But they 'tried to catch them.

In this simple notation only one degree of stress is used and it is assumed that the tails are unstressed. This is deliberate and is intended to counteract the tendency of many foreign speakers to stress tails, final pronouns in particular.

It will be clear that the aim of this type of exercise is to establish the nature of 'given information' in English and its effect upon the position of the nucleus. Here is another type of sequence:

(a) The 'mouse looked 'out of its 'hole.

There was a 'cat by the hole.

'Mice 'don't 'like 'cats.

But 'cats like 'mice.

¹The nucleus of a sentence (or tone group) is that syllable on which a distinct change of pitch direction is initiated.

²'Pretonic' here refers to any stressed syllable preceding a nucleus. 'Tail' means those syllables which follow a nucleus and are affected by it in pitch.

- (b) She be'gan to 'cross the 'road.
 There was a 'cyclist in the road.
 'She 'saw the cyclist,
 But the 'cyclist 'didn't see 'her.

This type of exercise seeks to establish the simplest kind of contrastive intonation where, under the influence of what precedes and what follows the sentence, the nucleus shifts from the last content word to a structure word. Again the procedure is for the student to mark stresses and tones, using the very simplest notation, on a cyclostyled text of the recording, and later to produce the series himself. At this stage, however, he is required to use an unmarked text in the production class.

The efficacy of transformation exercises in the teaching of grammatical structures is in some doubt at the present time, but the writer has no doubt that a modified form of transformation exercise on the following lines can be very useful in teaching pronunciation.

'Thank you, I've 'already 'got some.
 I've already got some, thank you.

By the 'way, it's 'Tuesday.
 It's Tuesday, by the way.

He 'said he'd 'had en'ough.
 'I've had enough,' he said.

I sup'pose 'that'll 'have to 'do.
 That'll have to do, I suppose.

The student again has a printed sheet, but on this occasion the first examples have their rhythm marked by the same simple notation and he is expected to mark the rhythm of the second example. As in all these exercises, he can listen as many times as he likes, and is allowed a fresh copy of the text if frequent changes of mind have made his first copy unsightly and therefore discouraging.

Progressive and regressive series provide useful variants upon transformation exercises. Here are some more examples.

- (a) 'Tell him.
 'Tell him 'where.
 'Tell him 'where to 'go.
 'Why?
 'Why 'don't you?
 'Why don't you 'ask him?
- (b) 'Hurry 'up!
 I 'wish he'd 'hurry 'up!
 'How I 'wish he'd 'hurry 'up!

He 'knows.

He 'really 'knows.

I 'think he 'really 'knows.

These variants in their turn admit of further elaboration. It will be seen that in the preparation of these exercises emphasis is on contextualization and this is the main function of the series. Perhaps it would be better in this sense to coin the word 'contextualization' since the context is often held to refer to the context of situation. It will also be obvious to the reader that exercises of this kind can be easily adapted to language laboratory work and indeed they were devised with this in mind.

Learn to Learn

A Freshman Introductory Course

MARGERY MORRIS

Ahmadu Bello University, Northern Nigeria

THIS COURSE, given in the autumn of 1964, was an attempt to introduce freshmen to the kind of learning and studying which is expected of them at a university. It arose from a general feeling supported by some direct evidence, that our freshmen have difficulty in understanding their lectures, taking adequate notes, organizing their studies, and making the best use of the library. These are difficulties which probably beset most students studying in a language which is not their mother tongue.

The course was limited to arts freshmen, and we were fortunate in having the co-operation of two British Council officers in running it. The freshmen were asked to be in residence two weeks before the beginning of session. For financial reasons the third week of the course had to overlap the first week of term, and these freshmen therefore started their university studies proper a week late.

The students were divided on arrival into three groups. Each group had four library periods and three reading speed sessions weekly, as well as two study techniques periods and two speech periods, daily. Friday afternoons, Saturdays, and Sundays were free. Booklets were prepared for the library, study techniques, and speech lessons and distributed free to the students.

The library course, which was devised and conducted by the library training officer of the university, introduced students to the methods of cataloguing and classification used in the university library, and analysed some of the different types of reference book available to students. It ended with a practical test and a group discussion.

The students enjoyed themselves and did well; it was felt, however, that in future courses far more time can profitably be allowed for exploring the resources of a library.

The study techniques programme was divided into three parts. The first dealt with listening to lectures and taking notes. Students were given some 'golden rules', which emphasized among other things the necessity of an organized filing system, 'active listening', and regular re-reading of notes. We tried to help students to realize that learning may be a slow and cumulative process and that insight does not necessarily come all at once. The students were then given some preliminary listening exercises designed to train acuity; for example, a question was put on the blackboard and a passage read to the students; they had to listen for the answer. After this we embarked on a series of short lectures, on which they took notes. Model notes were then distributed and discussed.

In the second week we gave the students more 'golden rules', this time for reading and studying, with the emphasis on 'active' studying and note-taking as an aid to concentration. After some preliminary reading exercises designed to encourage close and thoughtful attention to the text, the students began a series of readings linked to the lectures they had previously heard and taken notes on. These were treated as far as possible as 'real' study sessions; teachers were not necessarily present and students were free to move around as they wished and discover their personal study rhythms. Subsequently their reading notes were discussed, and model notes suggested.

The third study techniques section was devoted to various problems. It included discussion of a technique for improving students' English by using native speakers and books as 'informants'; an introduction to inductive reasoning, which was applied in practice to inferring the meanings of unfamiliar words from context; a discussion of plagiarism and the various ways of introducing and acknowledging quotations; a short section on ways of tackling difficult reading-matter (one way being to find a simpler book on the same subject); a note on differences of opinion, in which students were encouraged to exercise their own judgements when they come across a critical conflict; and finally some advice on a personal timetable and the necessity of organizing study time and creating study habits.

The emphasis throughout was on *Learn to Learn*, but since all the material for lectures and study sessions was taken from recommended reading in the various departments of the Faculty of Arts, there was a fringe benefit in that students were introduced to some of the vocabulary and concepts of their future courses of study.

The speech section took the form of a fairly intensive introduction to English stress, rhythm, and intonation. Fourteen graded lessons and fourteen practice sessions were devised. The object was not so much to influence speech habits as to make students aware of some factors in English speech which make it difficult for them to understand. This point was well taken by the students, many of whom had never been taught by native English speakers before. It had been planned to use the language laboratory for the practice sessions, but we were unable to do this owing to technical difficulties, and the sessions were conducted in class.

For reading speed we used a set of American graded cards. Students were given three minutes to read a short passage and answer questions on it. They calculated their reading rate from a table and entered the results on a graph. We did not expect to increase reading speed in nine sessions, but students were made aware of a problem. These sessions were popular, though the material on the cards was not particularly geared to their needs and interests, and the 'grading' was designed for native speakers of American English. There is an opportunity here for the construction of a special reading-speed course which would take into account the vocabulary levels and interests of university freshmen, but it would be a big piece of research. There is no doubt that the difficulty of getting through the required reading, let alone anything that is not mandatory, is one of our students' most urgent and pressing problems.

Various evening entertainments—though not as many as we could have wished—were devised for the students. On the last day of the course we asked them to write anonymous reports, giving their comments and suggestions. The students proved to be unanimous in their appreciation of the course, and pleased to think they were taking part in an experiment. They said that they had been helped to find their feet in university life and that they felt on a level with second- and third-year students, especially in the use of the library. This confirmed our own impression, supported by their regular attendance, that the course was proving worth while. Student criticism was concerned with the length of the course (the overlapping week created a certain amount of distraction); and their wish for more entertainment, and for more opportunities to get to know the campus and its environs. They would have liked more variety in the teaching voices and an opportunity to meet and hear different lecturers.

This experimental course has left us with the impression that the problems to be solved are even more numerous and more urgent than was thought. We were particularly struck by the general insecurity and floating anxiety of freshmen, their fear of the unknown demands of this new life, and their determination to do well in it. It is hoped, if administrative difficulties can be solved, to repeat the course on a larger scale next year, to improve it in the light of what we ourselves have learned, and to include all freshmen.

Direct Questions in the Teaching of Conversation

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IT IS A VERY general opinion that direct questions (i.e. those that can elicit 'yes' or 'no' answers) should be avoided in the practice of conversation in the classroom. The importance of direct questions has been greatly underestimated and I feel it is time they should be recognized as an important tool in the teaching of conversation. Direct questions are easy for students to construct and offer enormous possibilities for the practice of conversation.

The teacher should speak as little as possible during the conversation class, for every minute he uses is a minute taken from the students' practice. So I make the students themselves ask the questions from the very beginning, and thus cut down the time I speak by a good many minutes per class period. The use of a chart showing the tripartite structure of questions is very helpful to the students, and whenever I have to introduce a new tense, a new modal, etc., I rewrite the chart on the blackboard and make the necessary addition. About half-way through an intermediate course, for instance, the chart has grown to be more or less as that at the top of page 110.

The first step, then, in the procedure I use for the teaching of conversation is to teach the students how to ask questions. In this step, and until the third step has been completed, only direct questions are used, and they will always be asked by the students, not by the teacher.

am		speaking
are is		
was were	person(s) or thing(s)	going to speak
do does		speak
did		
will		
would		
can		
may		
must		
have has		spoken
had		

.....?

The second step is to teach short idiomatic answers. Let us assume that we have only taught the simple present tense. To teach short answers I rewrite the chart on the blackboard and list the short answers on the right:

do		speaking
does		spoken

....?

Yes, I do.	No, I don't.
Yes, you do.	No, you don't.
Yes, we do.	No, we don't.
Yes, they do.	No, they don't.
Yes, he does.	No, he doesn't.
Yes, she does.	No, she doesn't.
Yes, it does.	No, it doesn't.

After abundant practice of questions and short answers, the next step—the most important step of all—is to make the students enlarge upon the short answer by adding a relevant comment of their own, providing at least one element that is not supplied by the question. For example:

Do you come to school by bus?

Yes, I do. I live a long way from the school.

(or: No, I don't. I always walk to school.)

or: Do you get up early on Sundays?

Yes, I do. My father wakes us all up at seven.

(or: No, I don't. I get up at about eight or nine.)

Of course, the quality of the comments that follow the short answer varies according to the level of the class.

At this step we have to teach the affirmative and negative forms of the verb, which is a relatively easy thing when the students know how to handle the question forms and the idiomatic answers. What is a little more difficult is to make the students realize that they *can* add the requested comment, that is, they can express an idea of their own in the language they are learning. When they finally overcome this mental block, they suddenly realize they are actually maintaining a conversation in English!

I think I need hardly point out that a lot of time should be devoted to the practice of this type of two-line dialogue. This step is crucial in the teaching of conversation, and direct questions can be used more successfully than any other type of questions at this stage.

The fourth step is to teach questions introduced by non-subject interrogatives. This can easily be done by listing a few interrogatives on the left of the chart the students are accustomed to use. At the same time it should be pointed out that the short answers in this case cannot be 'yes' or 'no' but only other words or phrases (of which a few examples should be given), and that these short answers should be followed by comments of the same type as those which follow the short answers to direct questions:

When	do		On Mondays
Where			In London.
What		speak	Spanish.
What time		etc.	At ten o'clock.
In what country	does		In England.
etc.			etc.

....?

For the sake of brevity I continue to assume that the students have been taught only the simple present tense. In practice, however, they are bound to have learned by this time more than one tense, for the teaching of each step—especially the third—takes a considerable time, during which graded material should be introduced.

So far the students can manage to maintain a two-line dialogue: one student asks a question and another gives a short answer and adds a comment. The fifth step is to have the pupils use any of the elements of the answer for the third line of the dialogue. This can be done by making a third student, or the student who asked the original question, add a remark. For example:

- 1st student: Do you get up early on Sundays?
 2nd student: No, I don't. I get up at about eight or nine.
 1st or 3rd student: I usually sleep until twelve on Sundays.

or:

1st student: Where does your father work?

2nd student: In town. He works for —.

1st or 3rd student: My brother works for —, too, but he works out of town.

From here on the way to conversation is easy. The fourth line of the dialogue can be a question suggested by any of the elements of the remark, in which case the whole cycle is renewed (question, short answer plus comment, remark). The fourth line may also be another remark on the remark given as a third line and this new remark may in turn be met with a question or a further remark, and the conversation will be kept going. For example:

A. Do you get up early on Sundays?

B. No, I don't. I get up at about eight or nine.

A. I usually sleep until twelve o'clock.

B. Don't you have any breakfast? or: B. My father likes to sleep late on Sundays, too.

A. Yes, I do. I have breakfast in bed and then go on sleeping. A. Does your mother sleep late too?

B. I don't like to have breakfast in bed. B. No, she doesn't. She gets up early and prepares our breakfast.
etc. etc.

I have used the procedure outlined above for several years and am satisfied with the results obtained. There are several methodological considerations, notably concerning the introduction of new vocabulary and structures, and also what and what not to correct, which escape a brief article. In closing, I would like to stress two advantages of this procedure: (1) most of the class time is used by the students: the teacher's use of class time is restricted to corrections of mistakes and introduction of new structures and vocabulary; (2) the students' response is excellent: they enjoy the challenge that this procedure makes them face, and they are delighted to find they are actually conversing in the language as they are learning it.

'If' (1)

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UNDER *IF*, the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary gives an account of 'conditional sentences' in terms of indicative or subjunctive moods in protasis and apodosis. Instead of protasis, the English teacher may speak of the 'if-clause', and for apodosis, 'main clause'; for indicative he may speak of the clause being one of 'open' or 'possible' condition, and subjunctive may be represented by 'improbable', 'impossible', or 'rejected' conditions. These changes do not materially alter the description.

The traditional description can be presented in stages, with a fair degree of system, and perhaps this has counted more than another, easily ascertainable, fact: that if we mark a reasonable number of consecutive occurrences of *if* in casual reading we are certain to be left with many that do not fit.

L. A. Hill recently cleared a good deal of ground by showing that *any* tense in the *if*-clause can be associated with *any* tense in the main clause. He did this by systematic tabulation, obtaining 324 (18 × 18) combinations.¹ Some of the listed possibilities are no doubt rare, but we do find a large assortment of them in everyday English. Here are a few items that seem perfectly acceptable:

		is going to be in trouble.
		will tell us what happened.
		knows all about it.
If she went there last night she		saw what happened.
		was taking a great risk.
		has taken a decisive step.
		had obviously made up her mind to go.
	recommends	
	is recommending	
If he	has recommended	it, the quality will be good.
	was recommending	
	recommended	

Obviously, admitting examples like these makes a sentence or sequence-of-tense account seem much less clear cut and 'rational'.

The following alternative description attempts to represent observed occurrences with as much teaching economy as possible. Its approach is as follows:

¹L. A. Hill, The Sequences of Tenses with 'If'-clauses, *Language Learning*, X, 3 and 4.

(1) The difference between *if we go* and *we go, if we went* and *we went* is in the first instance presence or absence of *if*. To the extent that difference of meaning can be accounted for by definition of *if*, it is superfluous to refer to tense, or to clause and sentence syntax. When obliged to refer to verb-form, clause syntax, or sentence syntax, we do so in that order, and only to the extent required.

(2) Features which are present in, but not exclusive to, sentences containing *if*-clauses are placed in their more general linguistic context.

All explanation is in simple terms, intended to suggest classroom presentation. All illustrative sentences other than those forming part of the explanation are taken from a recent issue of a Wellington journal.¹ They show the actual variety of occurrences in fifty pages (or about 40,000 words) of prose.

We begin, therefore, with occurrences of *if* for which definition and illustration provide all the information required (Section A). Section B introduces verb-form considerations.

Section A:

If is used with the following meanings, without grammatical restriction of tense for the following verb (indeed, except for III and VII there need not be a following verb):

- I on condition that
- II on the assumption that
- III in order that
- IV when, every time that
- V though, by contrast with the fact that
- VI 'modifying'
- VII whether

These will be illustrated in turn.

I. *If* meaning on condition that:

1. Every day, people make straightforward promises and statements about the future: *I will see you at four o'clock. The bus will arrive at five past one.* We can distinguish between the time of the promise or statement, and the time of the event which is referred to. The promise or statement itself is present (that is to say, the words of the speaker are the promise or statement); the promised action or stated event is future.

¹Comment, Number 20, Comment Publishing Company, Wellington, New Zealand.

2. Now often we feel we *cannot* make a straightforward promise or statement. Sometimes for instance, the future event depends on what may happen during the time between the moment of making the statement (now) and the time of the event (future): *I will see you at four o'clock . . . if the bus is not late. The bus will arrive at five past one . . . if there is no hold-up in Cuba Street.* The promise and statement are now said to be conditional, the word *if* preceding the statement of the condition under which the future event will occur.¹

The promise itself is present: (*I promise now that*) *I will see you at four o'clock.* The condition is present too; it is attached to the promise; and the simple present tense is used: . . . *if the bus is not late.*

3. Very often, too, people do not *wish* to make a straightforward promise. They intend to make their promise conditional.

In ordinary speech we may say *Do this, and I'll do that. Help me, and I'll pay for your coffee.* In formal language, an arrangement is made 'on condition that' or 'provided that' something is done.

Often we use *if*: *If you help me with this assignment, I'll pay for your coffee.* Such conditions are made at the time of speaking, and the simple present tense is the most frequent tense in *if*-clauses of this kind.²

4. The promise may be to do something: (*If you help me now,*) . . . *I'll pay for your coffee,* or it may be not to do something: . . . *I won't worry you again.* Similarly, the condition may be that something is done: (*I'll lend it to you*) . . . *if you let me have it tomorrow,* or the condition may be that something is not done: . . . *If you don't tell anyone.*

5. Sometimes the 'promise' is unpleasant, that is to say a *threat*, and the condition is stated so as to warn against the *consequence* of doing something: *If you do that again I won't speak to you any more.*

6. A verb is not always required for the statement of the condition: (*We will obtain it for you*) . . . *if possible, if ready, if available.*

7. Here are some examples from the Wellington journal:

¹Muslims feel that *all* our statements about the future are conditional, and always add the condition *in'sha' Allah*: *I will see you at four o'clock, if God permits.*

²When one finds *will* after *if*, it means willingness: *If you will help me* means *If you are willing to help me.* *I'll lend you the magazine if you will let me have it back tomorrow* means . . . *if you agree to let me have it back tomorrow.*

But these things can be achieved only if we are prepared to recognize the urgent needs of Black Africa.

... if we attain some deeper understanding, ... we can play a positive and significant role ...

If we bear this in mind, we can understand why the characters change so much.

... if he asserts forcibly enough that it does add up to a poem, somebody will be sure to take him seriously.

Here are examples with *will* after *if*:

If he will pass to p. 23 he will see that I agree with him.

... man can if he will wipe out this disgrace ...

8. When *if* means *on condition that*, the time reference of the main clause is likely to be future simply because most conditions are concerned with the future. As we have seen, the time reference may be past: *If she went there last night she saw what happened*. Her seeing what happened is stated as a fact conditional on her having gone there: we do not know whether she went or not. The reference may be to repeated occurrence: *If, as is most likely, he goes home along Hobson Street, he passes her house every day without knowing it*. His passing her house on repeated occasions is stated as a fact conditional on his repeated going that way: we do not know whether he goes that way or not.

II. *If* meaning *on the assumption that*:

1. We have looked at the statements and promises made conditionally. Most conditional statements and promises refer to the future, but we have just had an example with a past time reference: *If she went there last night she saw what happened*. The comment was: 'we do not know whether she went or not'. However, the same words might be spoken in a very different context.

Speaker A: She went there last night.

Speaker B: Well, if she went there she saw what happened.

In this context, Speaker B is not making her seeing what happened conditional on her going there, for her going is stated as a fact. *If* does not mean *on condition that*, but *on the assumption that* ... , *on the understanding that* ... , *given that* ... It implies that on the basis of a statement a deduction is about to be made.

This use of *if* is common in argumentative prose. Indeed it is so fundamental that a sign (\supset) is used for it in symbolic logic: $p \supset q$, *if p, then q*. In formal writing, *Granted that* ... is often used.

2. Here are some examples:

... if that's the case it's not going to be all that easy to do anything about it.

If there is bad teaching in the New Zealand Universities (and there is), is it more than an argument for improving it?

If there are still powerful social forces at work, it is because . . .
 . . . if 60 per cent of your budget is being frittered away (as in Dahomey)
 . . . you're not likely to have much left over for . . .

3. As with conditional *if*, a verb is not always present: *If so, . . . If true, . . .*

4. Naturally we may make assumptions which are without a factual basis, and draw conclusions from them in the same way: usually such assumptions involve a 'past-tense' verb-form, discussed in Section II.

III. *If* meaning *in order that*:

1. Occasionally we find that an *if*-clause has *is* (or another finite part of *be*) followed by *to* and a verb stem: *If I am to finish this work by four o'clock . . .* The *if*-clause is followed by a statement of what is required: *If I am to finish this work . . . I must not be disturbed. If I was to arrive in time I just had to take the taxi.*

2. Here are some examples:

New Zealand needs a greater degree of industrial diversification if it is to weather the stormy years ahead.

If a play is to be successful, it must awaken the spectators . . .

If the Commonwealth is to survive, it is . . . because the individual nations feel that their common interests can be served . . .

The list must be long and varied, if it is to reflect the complexity of institutions in the various sectors.

IV. *If* meaning *when* or *every time that*:

1. Sometimes *if* precedes the statement of a very general condition, and the main clause states the consequence when this condition is satisfied. When this is so, *if* has a meaning very close to the meaning of *when* or *every time (that)*. We do not think of any particular time when making such statements.

2. Here are some examples:

If there is a decision of the Courts which the Administration does not approve, the regulations are amended.

Liberty is useless when it does not lead to action, action is meaningless if it does not involve working for other people. (*when* and *if* could be interchanged.)

3. *If* meaning *when* need not be followed by a finite verb:

Social decisions, even if beneficial in the long run, can be imposed by a sovereign state only if there is sufficient approval.

V. *If* meaning *though* or *by contrast with the fact that*:

1. *If* is often used at the beginning of a clause whose statement contrasts with the statement of the main clause. Often the contrast is like the contrast signalled by *though*.

2. The main clause may have a word indicating contrast too: *then, also*. These words help to confirm one's identification of *if* as a contrasting word. Sometimes *if* is identified in this function by *even: even if*.

3. Here are some examples:

... his words will make a profound impact, even if he is only telling a story ...

Even if Mr Sharp can quote chapter and verse to show that these points were included in his first book, I would still stick to my overall conclusion ...

If the campaign re-presented in peacetime is a localized one ... then the experience described is common to every soldier ...

If the Varese piece was quite old, this was positively ancient.

The following examples have *also* in the main clause:

But, if they drove those whom they controlled, they also drove themselves.

If the new movement has provoked in us words of revolt, it has also increased our sense of frustration.

4. This *if* is frequent without a following verb:

I do mention, even if briefly ...

It is possible, if difficult.

They permit useful analysis, even if only for short-run problems.

It was, if not commendable, at least excusable ...

VI. 'Modifying' *if*:

1. The last examples of *if* with no following verb are close to the use of *if* to introduce an immediate modification or amendment of a word or phrase. The modification is parenthetical, that is 'in brackets', and could be omitted from the sentence without the omission being noticed. It will be seen from the examples that brackets or dashes are sometimes used.

2. Here are some examples:

Our policies maintain in power—if we do not actually create them—groups which are useful to us.

The term 'Hall of Residence' is fast becoming, if it has not already become, an emotionally tinged word.

The next two examples have no following verb:

It is a function, if not *the* function, of a composer to discover the potentials of the instrument.

His task is to be a competent administrator (if only in the art of delegation), a pleasant host, a man with time for other people.

VII. *if* (*whether*):

1. A verbal question (*Will he come?*) may become the subject or the object of a sentence when the statement word order is restored (*he will come*) and *whether* is placed before it. Here the clause is a sentence subject:

Whether he will come is not yet known.

Here the clause is a sentence object:

I will ask whether he will come.

If can be used instead of *whether* to introduce such an object clause:

I	doubt will ask wonder am not sure do not know	whether if	he	has come will come came
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No example of this *if* was noted in the issue of *Comment*.

(*To be concluded*)

English Prepositions

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EVERY ELEMENTARY COURSE in English makes provision for teaching the common prepositions in the meanings which can be easily demonstrated or depicted: *The ruler is under the box. The pencil is in the box. The box is on the table. I'm standing by the window. I'm going from the window to the door*, etc. For the student the learning of these meanings is largely a matter of practising the association between each word and an observable situation.

In other instances, acquiring the correct use of these small words depends more upon forming associations between a preposition and the type of word or phrase which may follow it: *They came at five o'clock/on Monday/in March; She has been here for an hour/ since two o'clock; He achieved his goal with a great effort/by making a great effort*, etc. The grammatical facts involved in such constructions are fairly well codified, and our textbooks and syllabuses provide for systematic learning of them.

In other uses, however, the choice of preposition is determined by a preceding verb (*to look at the evidence, to listen to it, to believe in it*), or noun (*the investigation of a problem, the remedy for it, the solution to it*) or adjective (*different from the others, similar to them, identical with them*). The 'meanings' of prepositions in such collocations are certainly not demonstrable, nor can they be learned by association with clearly defined classes of words. Anybody who has taught advanced foreign learners of English is

aware that these abstract, chaotic functions of the prepositions remain a stumbling-block long after mastery of essentials has been achieved. Yet the advanced student's difficulties merely reflect the inadequacies of his earlier courses, which in turn are due to the insufficient descriptions we have of the language.

The native speaker of English is apt to think that each preposition has its own separate meaning or group of meanings, but this view is contradicted by anomalies like the following: *the purpose of/the reason for*; *tired of/bored with*; *look after/care for*. Different prepositions sometimes yield great differences of meaning (*look at/look for*); sometimes the difference is quite subtle (*concerned about/concerned with*); sometimes there is no difference of meaning (*complain about/complain of*). In some cases there may be a difference in prepositions according to whether an animate noun or an inanimate noun follows: *angry with (or at) somebody/angry about (or at) something*. Related words of different parts of speech require different prepositions, as Hornby¹ has pointed out: We are *fond of something*/We have a *fondness for it*; We sympathize with *somebody*/We have *sympathy for him*/We feel *sympathetic to(ward) him*. Part of our grammatical folklore has it that the preposition translates the Latin or Greek prefix of the preceding word (*appeal to, depart from, communicate with, provide for, etc.*). But only a little investigation will show that this is not true enough to be useful: *conceited about, conducive to, confident of, contemporary with, contingent (up)on*.

The inquiring mind looks for system, but in this area of English grammar it finds none. We can only tell the student that he had better learn such expressions as 'whole units', and we thereby restrict the student to learning piecemeal, by rote. We should at least try to arrange these expressions in patterns, for easier learning. Such classification is difficult. As we have illustrated, more than one preposition is possible in a given position without there being a difference of meaning. Furthermore, there are undoubtedly dialect differences in prepositional usage, as in other features of the language. But those who are learning English do not need an encyclopaedic treatise on the subject; they need to be provided with the opportunity to learn constructions which are accurate, and to learn them as efficiently as possible.

As a step in that direction I have compiled the list which follows. It consists of just under 200 verbs sorted into 24 groups according to which preposition(s) may follow. All these verbs

¹A. S. Hornby, *A Guide to Patterns and Usage in English* (Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 132. This very helpful book describes the patterns in which prepositions occur, with abundant illustration, on pp. 53-6, 73-7, 130-2, 134-6, 143-8, 162-3, 187-8.

belong to Hornby's verb pattern 18C,¹ that is, *verb (+ preposition) + (pro)noun + preposition + (pro)noun*: *advise somebody about something, appeal to somebody for something, borrow something from somebody*, etc. I have restricted the list to verbs which may be followed by both an animate noun (represented here by the word *somebody*) and an inanimate noun (represented as *something*), in either order. This pattern, it should be noted, cannot be re-arranged in the form *verb + indirect object + direct object*, as is true of pattern 18A (*give something to somebody—give somebody something*) or pattern 18B (*buy something for somebody—buy somebody something*).

The list is by no means a complete thing; other verbs might be added to the various groups, and other groups can be added; the verbs listed occur in other constructions which are not considered here.² No attempt is made at a semantic classification; *praise somebody for something* and *send somebody for something* obviously illustrate different meanings of *for*, and in this case the difference can be shown by paraphrase: 'praise somebody for what he has done' versus 'send somebody to get something'. However, as I have tried to show above, meaning is not a reliable guide to the choice of prepositions.

- somebody *about* something
advise, ask, caution, consult, inform, question, see, tease, tell, warn.
- to somebody *about* something
complain, speak, talk.
- with somebody *about* something
(dis)agree, argue, confer, consult, communicate, debate, differ, discourse, dispute, expostulate, joke, quarrel, sympathize.
- somebody *by* something
judge.
- somebody *for* something
ask, blame, denounce, esteem, excuse, forgive, petition, prepare, press, punish, (dis)qualify, reproach, reprimand, reward, send, thank, value.
- on somebody *for* something
count, depend, rely.
- to somebody *for* something
apologize, appeal, apply.

¹*op cit.*, pp. 53-6.

²Many of the examples in the list have been gleaned from Thomas Lee Crowell, Jr., *A Glossary of Phrases with Prepositions*, 3rd edition, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall International, 1960

- with* somebody *for* something
bargain, compete, intercede, plead.
- somebody *from* something
deter, discourage, dissuade, distract, exclude, excuse, exempt,
hinder, prohibit, protect, release, rescue, restrain, stop.
- somebody *in* something
assist, encourage, engage, help, instruct, interrupt, surpass.
- with* somebody *in* something
alternate, associate, concur, cooperate.
- somebody *of* something
accuse, acquit, convict, convince, cure, defraud, dispossess,
relieve, remind, strip, suspect.
- somebody *on* something
compliment, congratulate.
- somebody *to* something
abandon, condemn, entitle, provoke, subject, welcome.
- somebody *with* something
acquaint, afflict, assist, bother, burden, credit, encourage,
familiarize, furnish, help, impress, infect, inspire, ply,
provide, reward, supply, threaten, trouble.
- something *at* somebody
aim, point, shoot, throw.
- something *for* somebody
preserve, reserve, save.
- something *from* somebody
borrow, collect, conceal, exact, expect, get, hide, obtain,
order, purchase, secure, steal.
- about* something *from* somebody
learn.
- something *in* somebody
detect, inculcate, instil.
- something *of* somebody
ask, expect.
- something *to* somebody
admit, ascribe, attribute, concede, confess, credit, declare,
dedicate, delegate, describe, devote, dictate, entrust, explain,
impart, justify, mention, present, propose, point out, recall,
report, reveal, say, submit, suggest, supply, throw.
- something (*up*) *on* somebody
bestow, confer, impose, impress, inflict, perpetrate.
- something *with* somebody
discuss, dispute, share.

The Agent in the Passive Construction

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GRAMMARIANS WHO have dealt with the passive verbal category have said explicitly or implicitly that the agent in the passive construction can be suppressed at will.¹ The author of this article has already expressed the opinion elsewhere in this journal that 'the choice between the construction in which the active subject is suppressed and that in which it is transformed into the adverbial adjunct is not one of vague personal preference'.²

The passive verbal category has too long been treated without taking into account how the nominal and some other elements in structure, such as adverbial adjuncts, influence the choice of the passive construction. It is only recently that linguists have started taking into consideration how the nominal elements in the function of subject and object affect the choice of the passive construction.³

We are not going to consider the choice of the passive construction in preference to the active. There are a number of grammatical as well as stylistic considerations which would have to be taken into account if the choice of the passive in preference to the active

¹M. M. Bryant, *A Functional English Grammar*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1959, p. 140. R. W. Zandvoort, *A Handbook of English Grammar*, J. B. Wolters-Groningen-Djakarta, 1953, p. 64. Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1951, pp. 167-8. Jespersen seems to be mainly interested in the passive constructions with the unexpressed agent, because the centre of interest for him is the shift of perspective in the transformation active-passive. 'It is possible next to permit the derivation from any sentence with a transitive verb phrase a corresponding passive sentence, the verbal object becoming the new subject, the old subject appearing in a prepositional phrase in *by*, which is later itself deletable.' R. B. Lees, *The Grammar of English Nominalizations*, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963, p. 43.

²'Some Observations on the Use of the Passive Voice', *English Language Teaching*, XVII, 2, 1963, p. 80.

³Jan Svartvik, *The Passive Voice in Present-Day English*, a thesis presented to the English Department of Uppsala University in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the *filosofie licentiat-examen*, Uppsala, 1961 (unpublished). When dealing with agential passive constructions Svartvik applied the criterion personal/non-personal to the nominal element in the agent. He also took into consideration the distribution of the adverbial elements in the passive structure. See also Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, Mouton, The Hague 1963, p. 42.

construction was to be accounted for. We shall only consider the choice between the passive transformations with the expressed agent and those with the suppressed agent, once the passive construction has been decided upon. We shall try to demonstrate how the verb determines the choice between passive constructions with the expressed agent and those with the deleted agent, taking into account the constraints imposed by the nominal element in the agent and by the adverbial elements in the passive structure.

The transformation from the active into the passive has usually been represented in the following manner:

- (1) *He killed a man. A man was killed (by him).*
 (2) *Everybody admires her. She is admired (by everybody).*

In these examples the use of the agent is optional. But the agent is not optional with any verb. Here are examples of passive constructions where the verb makes the use of the agent obligatory:

- (3) *His aunt brought him up. He was brought up by his aunt.*
 but not (4) **He was brought up.*
 (5) *Relief followed amazement. Amazement was followed by relief.*
 but not (6) **Amazement was followed.*
 (7) *Mr Smith did most of the talking. Most of the talking was done by Mr Smith.*
 but not (8) **Most of the talking was done.*

From the above examples it can be seen that there are verbs with which the agent is optional and others with which it is obligatory. We shall, therefore, try to classify the verbs which undergo the passive transformation, applying to the agent in the passive transformation the criterion deletable/non-deletable. If this criterion is applied four groups emerge. We shall operate with the minimal number of elements in the structure in order not to obscure the main point we are trying to demonstrate.¹

Group I. With this group of verbs the agent in the passive transformation is deletable:

$N_s V N_o \rightarrow N_o \text{ BEVEN (by } N_s)$

- (9) *Somebody broke my window. My window was broken.*
 (10) *They signed the contract. The contract was signed.*
 (11) *Howard faked the photograph. The photograph was faked.*

Group II. With this group of verbs the agent is deletable only if there is an adverbial expansion in the structure:

¹The symbols used in this article have the following meanings: N_s = subject of the active verb, V = finite active verbal group, N_o = object of the active verb, A = adverbial modifier, BEVEN = finite passive verbal group, $\text{by } N_s$ = agent in the passive construction, \rightarrow = is transformed into, () encloses optional elements, * the asterisk marks ungrammatical forms, { } = encloses elements one of which is to be chosen, an = animate, in = inanimate.

$N_s V N_o \longrightarrow N_o \text{ BEVEN } byN_s$
 $N_s V N_o A \longrightarrow N_o \text{ BEVEN } A (byN_s)$

(12) *His parents brought him up. He was brought up by his parents.*

(13) *They brought him up {in Cambridge, as a Methodist, properly}.
 He was brought up in Cambridge. He was brought up as a Methodist.*

but not (14) **He was brought up.*

(15) *Honest men ran the country. The country was run by honest men.*

(16) *They ran the country according to the Marxist doctrine. The country was run (by them) according to the Marxist doctrine.*

but not (17) **The country was run.¹*

(18) *Miss Perkinson played the part of the mother. The part of the mother was played by Miss Perkinson.*

(19) *Miss P. played the part of the mother well. The part of the mother was played well (by Miss P.).*

but not (20) **The part of the mother was played.*

(21) *A rich man owned the club. The club was owned by a rich man.*

(22) *They owned the club jointly. The club was jointly owned.*

but not (23) **The club was owned.*

(24) *She did most of the talking. Most of the talking was done by her.*

(25) *They did most of the talking at lunch. Most of the talking was done at lunch.*

but not (26) **Most of the talking was done.*

Group III. With the verbs of this group the agent may be deletable or non-deletable. The constraints are imposed by the element N_s . If N_s is an animate nominal the agent is *deletable*, if it is an inanimate nominal the agent is *not deletable*.

$N_s^{an} V N_o \longrightarrow N_o \text{ BEVEN } (byN_s^{an})$
 $N_s^{in} V N_o \longrightarrow N_o \text{ BEVEN } byN_s^{in}$

(27) *Somebody followed me. I was followed.*

(28) *They followed my advice. My advice was followed.*

(29) *Curse one followed curse two. Curse two was followed by curse one.*

but not (30) **Curse two was followed.*

(31) *Red Indians inhabited the town. The town was inhabited.*

(32) *A feeling of despair inhabited his mind. His mind was inhabited by a feeling of despair.*

but not (33) **His mind was inhabited.*

(34) *They replaced him. He was replaced.*

(35) *A booming contralto replaced his seedy accents. His seedy accents were replaced by a booming contralto.*

but not (36) **His seedy accents were replaced.*

With the verb *strike* an additional criterion must be applied to the element N_s if the nominal is an inanimate. The criterion abstract/physical object must be applied to the inanimate nominals. If the nominal element is an abstract nominal the agent is *not deletable*, if it is a physical object it is *deletable*.

¹The verb *run* which has a different referent is not liable to this constraint:
They ran a race. A race was run.

- (37) *The unfairness of this struck John. John was struck by the unfairness of this.*
 (38) *The ball missed the goal and struck John. The ball missed the goal and John was struck.*

Group IV. With the verbs of this group the agent is not deletable.

- (39) *An irresistible desire to run away possessed me. I was possessed by an irresistible desire to run away.*
 but not (40)**I was possessed.*¹
 (41) *Unworthy motives actuated him. He was actuated by unworthy motives.*
 but not (42)**He was actuated.*
 (43) *On his death his daughter succeeded him. On his death he was succeeded by his daughter.*
 but not (44)**On his death he was succeeded.*

In a great number of passive constructions the agent is not deletable if the passive sentence is not contextualized, as in the following example:

- (45) *Shakespeare wrote this sonnet. This sonnet was written by Shakespeare.*
 but not (46)**This sonnet was written.*

But it would be possible to contextualize the example marked with the asterisk. The passive construction with the deleted agent is chosen where the agent is obvious from the verbal or the extra-linguistic context. For example:

- (47) *Before reaching his flat John was already diving into his pocket for the key. It was inserted, the door was unlocked.*

On the other hand, in the passive transformation with the expressed agent all the elements of the underlying active sentence are preserved, and only the syntactic function of the nominal elements is changed. The agent is usually, though not necessarily, indispensable from the point of view of information, as in example (45). But the object of this paper is not to demonstrate how the wider context influences the choice between the constructions with the expressed agent and those with the suppressed agent. We wanted to show what constraints are imposed on the choice between the passive construction with the expressed agent and that with the suppressed agent by the elements of the passive structure itself, in the first place by the verb as a lexical item.

¹It is possible to have *I am possessed*, but it is not the transformation of the active construction (39). If a passive transformation is the product of a transformation from the active into the passive it is assumed that the content of the two sentences is the same. Zellig S. Harris, 'Co-Occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure', *Language*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1957, p. 290: 'transforms seem to hold invariant ... the information content.'

Teaching the Passive

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MOST FOREIGN learners of English master the form of the passive without much difficulty, but, having learnt it, often fail to make use of it to the extent that it is required as an idiomatic feature of the language. The main reason for this, I believe, is that it is taught without adequate reference to the contexts in which it is normally used. As a result, the student fails to grasp the significance of the passive and uses instead the active, thus producing not incorrect but unidiomatic English.

Our whole approach to the passive needs careful examination. It is widely recognized that the passive is not just an alternative way of expressing the active; also, that it should not be taught in constant association with *by* + an 'agent'. Thus, in general, practice through conversion of sentences like *John kicked the dog* to *The dog was kicked by John* has been abandoned in favour of a less pernicious model, calculated to discourage the automatic use of *by*: sentences with an indefinite subject word, like *Somebody has stolen my pen*, which, expressed in the passive form, becomes *My pen has been stolen*.

This, as a procedure for teaching the passive, is questionable in more than one respect. In the first instance, out of context—and most of these sentences are out of context, are we producing a better sentence by using the passive because we have eliminated an indefinite subject? In a sequence of sentences, the subject position is often occupied by unemphatic indefinite words, such as pronouns, which may be followed either by an active or a passive form: *We must do something about it* / *Something must be done about it*. Secondly, by using practice sentences of this type, there is a tendency to avoid almost entirely the use of the passive form with *by*. And yet, if Jespersen's figures are even approximately reliable,¹ about one-fifth of our practice material ought to illustrate the use of the passive with *by*, and the kind of 'agent' which follows it. Sentences of the kind *Hamlet was written by Shakespeare* are not very good models. Much more typical are *We were held up by the fog*; *the building was destroyed by fire*; *she stepped off the pavement and was knocked down by a passing lorry*; *the race was won by the tortoise, not the hare*; *I was stopped at the door by a man who hadn't shaved for days*.

Thirdly, I think we ought to ask whether conversion exercises

¹Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, p. 168.

are suitable for teaching the passive. Of the two types used (*John kicked the dog* and *Somebody kicked the dog*) the first suggests that the active can be replaced by the passive more or less mechanically; the second that it ought to be replaced to get rid of the indefinite subject. But this teaches our students little or nothing about the actual use of the passive. Surely what they need to be taught is why the active form is used in certain situations while the passive is used in others. The native user of English does not master the passive form by converting sentences into it from the active; in fact, using the passive does not involve a procedure comparable say, to the conversion of direct into indirect speech. Only occasionally do we have to stop to think which form, active or passive, is to be preferred. A completion type exercise, with an adequate context provided, would seem to be much more effective and far less misleading than the conversion exercise. For example: *I didn't fall; I . . . (push). I can't find the spoons; Where . . . they . . . (keep)?* In practice material of this sort, the use of the passive is conditioned naturally by the context, and if the contexts are well chosen, the student learns a great deal about the use of the passive as well as practising its forms.

It is worth noting that by avoiding the conversion type exercise we avoid also complications with certain patterns in the passive form—complications which the native user of English has never had to face!

(i) *Verbs followed by two objects: teach, tell, give, etc.* The conversion of *Somebody gave me a book* to *I was given a book*, with its unattached object, naturally puzzles the student who would prefer *A book was given to me*. While this construction will doubtless require some comment it is best learnt through practice in contexts where the student is obliged to use the idiomatic pattern: e.g. *I . . . just . . . (give) two tickets for the concert tonight*. Similarly with *His name is Edward but he . . . always . . . (call) Ted by his friends; close the window, otherwise you . . . (keep) awake by the noise*.

(ii) *Phrasal verbs: look into, turn out, bring up, etc.* These are no more difficult to use in the passive than in the active and yet, in converting from active to passive, the student often omits the all-important particle. This error can be avoided by using completion type exercises: *Please remain seated while the examination papers . . . (give out); when his parents died, David . . . (bring up) by an elderly uncle*.

Presentation of the passive in the classroom

Although the passive is perhaps most effectively practised through written exercises, this stage needs to be preceded by a good oral grounding. If the passive is taught in the third year of English, we

can introduce it by means of a number of participle forms used adjectivally, with which the student is likely to be already familiar. For example, *closed*: *The door is closed. The window is open. Close the window. Now the window is closed too. Your books are closed but mine is open*, etc. Similarly with *broken*: *This ruler is broken. This pencil is broken too. Is your pencil broken?*, etc. In the same way, use can be made of *pleased* and *disappointed* in suitable situations. *I gave Mary a sweet. She was pleased. I didn't give John a sweet. He was disappointed. Why was Mary pleased? She was pleased because I gave her a sweet. Why was John disappointed?*, etc. Likewise, *made of*, which if not familiar is easily understood. *This table is made of wood. This chair is made of wood, too. This can be extended to include other materials: My shirt is made of cloth. My shoes are made of leather. What is . . . made of? Similarly made from: Butter is made from milk. Cheese . . . milk. Jam . . . fruit.*

The next stage is to present the passive in situations suited to the age and background of the learner, concentrating at the start on the more common forms: simple present, past definite, and infinitive. Some possible contexts are indicated below:

(i) *What language is spoken in . . . ? Is . . . spoken in . . . ? Where is . . . spoken?*

(ii) *Where is . . . (bread, butter, milk) sold? Is . . . sold in a . . . 's? What is sold in a . . . (grocer's shop)?*

(iii) *Where are . . . (bananas, oranges) grown? Are . . . grown in this country?*

(iv) *How is . . . (tea, coffee) made? Infinitive forms can be introduced and practised: Can tea be made with cold water? No, the water has to be boiled first. When tea is made, it must be left for two or three minutes before it is poured out.*

(v) *When was . . . (name of a well-known building) built? Who was it built by?*

(vi) Name some well-known books; ask who they were written by and when they were written.

Some of these situations can be exploited to produce sequences: e.g. (iv). In addition, simple narrative accounts can be built up around an imaginary situation: for example, a rescue at sea. A man was seen floating in the sea (perhaps a cry for help was heard); the lifeboat was sent out; it went towards where the lifeboat had been seen; the man was pulled on board; he was wrapped in a blanket; he was given something to drink; he was taken to hospital.

In the early stages of teaching the passive, rapid oral and written practice can be given through substitution tables, either to reinforce forms taught through situations, or to practise forms for which situations are not easy to devise, or to give additional practice in forms which learners find difficult. Here are two

examples, one for verbs like *make*, *call*, *elect*, the other for *It is said that* . . .

The man who has been	made appointed elected	leader chairman secretary	is called	Smith. Brown. Jones.
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It is	said believed hoped expected	that the	Prime Minister chairman headmaster	will	make a speech. be present. resign.
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Tables can be used for question and answer practice: *What's the name of the man who's been made secretary? He's called Brown, etc.*

In the final stages of teaching the passive, a great deal of written practice is needed, preferably in the form of passages in which (i) the passive form is contrasted naturally with the active; (ii) the use of the passive with and without *by* are both illustrated. Here is a short example:

Two boys, who . . . (*trap*) by the tide on the cliffs at Westlea yesterday . . . (*rescue*) by a police constable, who . . . (*lower*) down the cliff on a rope. The boys, who were on holiday, had set off to explore the beach early in the morning. When they did not return by evening, a search party . . . (*organize*). The boys . . . (*locate*) when torch signals . . . (*see*) from a ledge on the cliff, etc.

Finally, it is important always to draw attention to good examples of the use of the passive in reading texts (I am thinking particularly of reading material which has not been specially written to illustrate the syllabus). It can be pointed out why the passive has been used and why it has been used with or without an agent; also what difference of emphasis would result if the sentence were expressed in the active. Sometimes it can be shown that an active construction is idiomatically improbable—this is often the case where *by* + an agent has been used. If the student has plenty of practice with well contextualized material and has his attention constantly drawn to good examples in his reading texts, he will soon learn to begin to make proper use of the passive himself.

Vocabulary Problems for Spanish Learners

R. K. S. MACAULAY

THE LEARNER of a foreign language frequently has difficulty with words which look¹ familiar but act differently from the similar words in his own language. The purpose of this article is to list and attempt to classify the kind of problems a Spanish² learner of English will meet. It is based on a study done as part of the work in the teacher training course at the Asociación Argentina de Cultura Inglesa, Buenos Aires.

(1) *Complete confusion caused by cognates with different reference.*

This is the most obvious source of trouble but it may turn out to be less common than one would expect and it is comparatively easy to deal with. Examples:

She is very sensible.

She is very sensitive.

Actually, I wouldn't like to go.

Nowadays nobody wears long skirts.

Ella es muy sensata.

Ella es muy sensible.

Para decir la verdad, no me gustaría ir.

Actualmente no se usan las polleras largas.

There seem to be two obvious ways of dealing with this problem:

(a) Teach the English words in unambiguous contexts wherever this is possible:

If you're coming for a walk you'd better go and put on some more sensible shoes.

That's a very sensible plan; he can't be such a fool as I thought.

(b) Use translation whenever ambiguous sentences occur.

Other examples of this kind of confusion can be found, for example, in: comprehensive/*comprensivo*; dedicate/*dedicar*; disgraced/*desgraciado*; familiar/*familiar*; genial/*genial*; idiom/*idioma*; impress/*impresionar*; particular/*particular*; pedantic/*pedante*; preoccupied/*preocupado*; support/*soportar*; sympathetic/*simpático*.

¹Words of Latin origin in English are easier to recognize as related to their cognates in Romance languages in their written form than in their spoken form and so the learner is more likely to see a resemblance than to hear one.

²'Spanish' here and throughout refers to the language spoken in Buenos Aires.

(2) *The range of the English item is less than that of its Spanish cognate.*

This, in effect, means that one word is commonly¹ used in Spanish where normally we use two or more words in English. In other words the semantic cake is sliced up differently in each language.

His career lasted two years.	}	<i>Su carrera duró dos años.</i>
His studies took two years.		
He didn't know that she was dead.		<i>Ignoraba que ella hubiera muerto.</i>
He ignored me the whole evening.		<i>Me ignoró durante todo la noche.</i>

This is probably an easier teaching problem because one part of the meaning of the word is already familiar to the learner and so it is a question of building up new habits as well. However, there are likely to be frequent errors in this category as the new habits involve a less familiar (in the sense of his L-1 responses) item than the cognate which the learner will tend to use quite confidently in contexts where it is inappropriate or misleading. On the other hand, the learner should not become inhibited about using it in the correct context because of over-compensation for the error.

Other examples of this kind of confusion can be found, for example, in: advertisement, propaganda/*propaganda*; awareness, conscience/*conciencia*; lose, miss/*perder*; paper, role/*papel*; policy, politics/*política*; teacher, professor/*profesor*; title, degree/*título*.

(3) *The range of the English item is greater than that of its Spanish cognate.*

Obviously this normally presents no problem for the Spanish-speaking learner of English.

I know her very well.	<i>La conozco muy bien.</i>
I don't know when he will come.	
	<i>No sé cuando llegará.</i>

The Spanish speaker discriminates between two kinds of 'knowing' but in English this distinction does not exist; consequently, the learner has no new habit to acquire. Only occasionally does a problem arise in this category:

It's in the corner.	<i>Está en el rincón.</i>
It's on the corner.	
	<i>Está en la esquina.</i>

Spanish distinguishes between the two kinds of 'corner' by a different word for each but in English the distinction is shown by a difference of prepositions.

¹This kind of study tends to involve such vague concepts as 'commonly' but the lack of a comprehensive contrastive description of the two languages probably makes dependence on subjective impressions unavoidable.

(4) *Partial confusion caused by cognates with overlapping reference.*

This is probably the most difficult kind of confusion to deal with because it is often difficult to be sure of the exact meaning of the items in one or both languages.

They discussed it for two hours
They argued about it for two hours. } *Lo discutieron durante dos horas.*

This is not the same problem as in section (2) above because it is difficult to know in Spanish when 'discussion' stops and arguing begins. In English 'discuss' comes on a scale of, let us say, formality or seriousness:

debating
discussing
talking
chatting

↑ increasing formality or seriousness

whereas 'argue' comes on a scale of violence:

fighting
quarrelling
arguing
disagreeing

↑ increasing violence

The two scales do not join together and in fact there is a case for saying that 'discuss' and 'argue' are mutually exclusive in English. In Spanish, on the other hand, *discutir* joins these two scales together:

peleando
discutiendo
hablando

↑

The social anthropologist may find this interesting as exemplifying a difference between two cultures but for the teacher the problem is to know whether to omit the preposition or change the verb in the learner's sentence *They discussed about it for hours* and the attempt to find out by questioning is likely to prove an unprofitable use of classroom time.

A more complicated example can be seen in the group 'hope, expect, wait, meet' which centres round *esperar*.

He waited for two hours.
When do you expect him?
I expect you to pay attention.
I'll expect you at twelve o'clock.
I hope to see you there.
I hope you'll win.
I'll meet you at the station.

*Esperó dos horas.
Para cuando lo espera?
Espero que presten atención.
Te espero a las 12.
Espero verte ahí.
Espero que ganes.
Te espero en la estación.*

but

I expect he'll be late.

Supongo que llegará tarde.

With a complicated set of relationships like this it is not surprising that even advanced students, not to mention many experienced teachers, are puzzled by some of the distinctions in English.

But the problem is greatest when there is doubt about the exact areas covered in both languages. For example, one might set up the equivalents:

He's	irritable. upset. nervous. on edge. flustered. jumpy. frantic. keyed up.	<i>Está nervioso.</i>
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He's upset	<i>Está</i>	<i>triste. nervioso. preocupado. disgustado.</i>
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This may seem a far-fetched example but it would obviously be important for, say, a psychiatrist with a minimal reading knowledge of English.

In some cases in this category there may be a little danger of misunderstanding although the contexts in which the words are used differ in the two languages.

I'll get breakfast.	<i>Voy a preparar el desayuno.</i>
She made a cake.	<i>Preparó una torta.</i>
He hasn't the training to do it.	<i>No está preparado para hacerlo.</i>
He's not prepared to do it.	<i>No tiene ganas para hacerlo.</i>

Other examples: know, meet, been to/*saber, conocer*; sincere/*sincero*; inconvenient/*inconveniente*; sane/*sano*; introduce/*presentar*; come, go/*venir, ir*; bring, take/*llevar*; abandon/*abandonar*.

(5) *Confusion caused by the lack of an equally common Spanish equivalent for an English item.*

It is difficult to find completely convincing examples of this category and yet it seems an important division in the classification. The difficulty arises because we are here dealing with speech habits rather than with meanings. In the following examples the problem is not that there is *no* way of expressing the underlined items in Spanish, it is that the Spanish equivalents are relatively infrequent or even improbable compared with the English items.

I'm <u>looking forward</u> to seeing you.
He's very <u>fussy</u> .
Don't <u>fidget</u> .
I don't <u>grudge</u> him his success.

The examples may seem trivial but the category requires special care in teaching because usually a new concept has to be created along with the new language habit and it is often not something

that can be easily shown ostensively. This category probably includes many greetings and formulae.

(6) *Confusion caused by the lack of an equally common English equivalent for a Spanish item.*

This is the other side of the problem in section (5) and it is a constant source of trouble, since the learner is anxious to 'translate' a perfectly common statement in his own language into the new language and he may find it hard to understand that it is not common in English.

e.g. *Llegó a la hora convenida.*
Estoy haciendo trámites para . . .
Hasta luego.

Again the examples are not very satisfactory but the category definitely exists. As most teachers know, the answer to 'How do you say "so-and-so" in English?' is sometimes 'We don't say it', but learners are notoriously hard to convince on this one.

(7) *Confusion caused by a change of structure in addition to a cognate with different reference.*

This is a special problem because the uncertainty for the learner and the teacher may appear to centre on the individual word, obscuring the fact that the structural change is equally or even more important.

He's not looking well today. *Tiene muy feo aspecto hoy.*

The teacher may mistakenly imagine the source of error to be in the wrong use of 'aspect' for 'appearance' when this is in fact only part of the problem.

(8) *Confusion caused by transfer of meaning from a Spanish word to its most common English equivalent, even though there is no similarity of form.*

This is a concealed form of interference which is not always easy to spot. For example, the most common English equivalent of *guardar* is 'keep'. This can lead to mistakes such as 'Keep your books' instead of 'Put away your books' because of concealed transfer from *Guardá los libros*. It is hard to say how frequent a source of confusion this is because there may be many examples which pass unnoticed.

Note:

Two points of general interest that cropped up are worth mentioning.

1. It was felt that learners were more likely to transfer meaning from their reading and writing than from their speech, and almost never from slang.

This is probably because the written forms of the cognates are closer together than the spoken forms. But it is also possible that the learner feels the classroom situation to be of a formal nature in spite of all sincere attempts to teach the spoken form of the language. This would explain how transfer can occur from comparatively rare items in the learner's vocabulary.

2. There is a danger that in dealing with an error caused by lexical interference the teacher may concentrate on the easier but less important side of the problem. For example:

All children must attend school.

Todos los niños deben asistir a la escuela.

If the learner uses 'assist' instead of 'attend' the teacher must resist the temptation to waste time teaching the correct use of 'assist', since in nearly every situation which the learner will meet 'help' will be much better and the complicated collocations of 'assist' are an added and unnecessary complication.

Some Pronunciation Problems of Swahili-Speaking Students

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IT IS NOT surprising that Swahili-speaking students should find it difficult to master the English vowel system, for they are called upon to learn numerous sounds which are unfamiliar. But it may appear surprising that they should find it difficult to master the English consonant system, for here they are not called upon to learn any unfamiliar sounds: all the consonant sounds that occur in English occur in Swahili as well. Pronunciation difficulties are not, however, a matter simply of the number of unfamiliar sounds. There are other factors.

Mistakes made by Swahili-speaking students in the pronunciation of English consonant sounds are liable to be overlooked. Witness the case of Mr X. When he finished school, despite ten-odd years of studying the language, he still spoke English with a foreign accent. Small wonder, since nobody had taught him the phonology of English, or, indeed, had so much as hinted that there was anything very wrong with his pronunciation. He went to England, and it was there that fortuitous circumstances dealt a blow to his complacency, a salutary blow long overdue. He realized, for the very first time, that he had to improve his pronunciation, and he manfully embarked on the attempt. He succeeded in the end, but for an unconscionably long time certain mis-

pronunciations had remained uncorrected, and this for a very simple reason: he had been blithely unaware of the fact that they were mispronunciations.

1. *The Stops*

One would hardly expect these to present any problem to the Swahili-speaking student. For, where stops are concerned, the phonemic structures of English and Swahili could not be more alike. Both languages have two series of stop phonemes: a voiceless series / p t č k / and a voiced series / b d ĵ g / (although, of course, Swahili has in the voiceless series an extra phoneme / q /—a marginal phoneme of Arabic origin). Now the above statement is true enough, but it obscures certain important facts. Let us see what they are.

The voiced series of stop phonemes in Swahili is not identical with that in English. In the former language each phoneme in the series has two allophones—a plosive allophone and an implosive allophone; in the latter language no phoneme in the series has an implosive allophone: implosive sounds do not occur in English. The problem then is to see that the Swahili-speaking student suppresses entirely the implosive sounds that occur in his own language. For what he tends to do when he speaks English is to employ implosive stops everywhere except after a nasal or before / r /. He does this in conformity with the practice in his own language, where the plosive allophone of / b / occurs only after non-syllabic / m / or before / r /; the plosive allophone of / d / and the plosive allophone of / ĵ / occur only after non-syllabic / n / or before / r /; and the plosive allophone of / g / occurs only after non-syllabic / ŋ / or before / r /. The Swahili-speaking student must unlearn this ingrained unconscious habit, and acquire instead the habit of using only plosive sounds when he speaks English. It is not an easy task by any means; but (if this is any comfort) his opposite number, an Englishman learning Swahili, faces one even more difficult: he has to learn not only a whole group of new sounds, but also where to use them and where to use the plosive sounds familiar to him. And that reminds me that parody may be effectively used here. If the Swahili-speaking student parodies an Englishman speaking Swahili (which he can be depended upon to do effortlessly) he will automatically employ plosive sounds to the exclusion of implosive sounds, which is precisely what we want him to do.

When we turn to the voiceless series of stop phonemes, we find as a pleasant contrast that they present no problem, with the single exception of / t /; and this constitutes a problem only for some Swahili-speaking students, not all. / t / is of course alveolar,

not dental. Now in the speech of the majority of Swahili speakers a dental stop does not occur at all, and so they have no difficulty with the English / t /. But in the speech of some Swahili speakers a dental stop does occur. It may occur as a separate phoneme in its own right, contrasting with an alveolar stop, as in the variety of Swahili spoken in Mombasa and Lamu; or it may occur as a phoneme without there being a contrasting alveolar stop phoneme; or, finally, it may occur merely as an allophone of / t / before / r / while an alveolar stop is the allophone in every other position. With such speakers there is always the danger of their using a dental stop instead of an alveolar stop when they speak English.

The above, of course, applies also to / d /.

8. *The Velar Nasal / ŋ /*

The next mistake is more gross, and perhaps less excusable, than those considered above. It consists in the substitution of the cluster / ŋg / for the single sound / ŋ /. The Swahili-speaking student always mispronounces such words as *singing* and *ring*, saying /singing/ and /ring/. He seems in fact to be incapable of pronouncing / ŋ / without a following / g / or / k /. Now there would be nothing strange in this if in his own language the velar nasal were merely an allophone of the alveolar nasal / n /, as it is in some languages. But in fact in Swahili (as in English) the velar nasal is a phoneme in its own right, and it *does* occur without necessarily being followed by / g / or / k /. However, it is a phoneme with a particular distribution: the words in which it occurs without a following / g / or / k / are extremely limited in number. And this fact perhaps explains why the Swahili speaker tends to employ the cluster / ŋg / in English.

But I suspect a better explanation is provided by traditional English orthography, which employs the same sequence of letters *ng* to stand for both the single sound / ŋ / and the cluster / ŋg /. Now in Swahili orthography *ng* stands only for the cluster; the single sound is represented by *ng'*. It is only natural therefore that the Swahili-speaking student should assume that *ng* stands for the cluster.

(Incidentally, a whole volume could be written on the mistakes into which foreigners are betrayed by traditional English orthography. I will mention just one: the belief universal among Swahili-speaking students, that such words as *jumped*, *watched*, and *laughed* end in / d / rather than / t /. They may have heard those words, correctly pronounced, a thousand times, and yet failed to hear the final / t / as anything except / d /. Its capacity to induce lasting auditory illusions is conclusive proof that the written word is indeed potent.)

3. *The Cluster /nj/*

Here the mistake consists in the substitution of a single sound /ɲ/ for a cluster /nj/. Since the alveo-palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the cluster /nj/ are so closely similar, the mistake might be regarded as a rather venial one: and just as an Englishman speaking Spanish might be excused for substituting the cluster for the required alveo-palatal nasal, so might a foreigner speaking English be excused for doing the reverse of this. However, the Swahili-speaking student cannot be so lightly excused, for *both* the alveo-palatal nasal *and* the cluster occur in Swahili, and they are not free variants of each other. He would not dream of pronouncing /ɲama/ (flesh) as /njama/, or /ɲunja/ (world) as /duna/. So if he does not mix these up in his own language, why should he mix them up in another language? It must be said in fairness, however, that the cluster is extremely rare in Swahili: it occurs in no more than four or five words. Rarity of /ny/, then, may account for the Swahili-speaking student's tendency to substitute /ɲ/, just as rarity of /ɲ/ without a following velar stop may—at least in part—account for his tendency to substitute /ɲg/.

4. */r/ and /l/*

In some Swahili dialects /r/ and /l/ do not constitute two separate phonemes. Not surprisingly, speakers of these dialects confuse the two sounds when they speak English—as do speakers of other Bantu languages, or, for that matter, of Chinese and Japanese.

5. *Final Consonants*

English words that end in a consonant prove difficult for some Swahili-speaking students, who are prone to add a vowel to them. The result may be something as bizarre as this: /hau keni wi iti buredi wiðauti bata/ 'How can we eat bread without butter?', or /ai kati maiselfu endi ai wozu bulidingi/ 'I cut myself and I was bleeding'. (Actually, these were perpetrated not by a Swahili speaker, but by a speaker of another Bantu language: a person, incidentally, who had spent seven years in England. Perhaps, unlike Mr X, he had not been fortunate enough to have the sort of blow to his complacency that made the former determine to improve his pronunciation of English; or, again, perhaps his complacency was proof against any blow.)

Such words are not difficult because in Swahili no word ends in a consonant. Despite the common assertion, words that end in a consonant do occur in Swahili, but they are very limited in number, and all or nearly all of them have free variants which end in a vowel.

To sum up, these are the problems that confront Swahili-speaking students of English: (i) the pronunciation of the voiced series of stopped phonemes, (ii) the pronunciation of the velar nasal without a following velar stop, (iii) the pronunciation of the cluster /nj/ and (for some, not all), (iv) the pronunciation of consonants occurring at the end of a word, (v) the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, and (vi) the distinction between /r/ and /l/.

The Death of Poetry (or almost so)

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LOVE OF POETRY seems to suffer from a high rate of infant mortality in my country and, I suspect, almost everywhere. The cause is not natural death, for if the young do not love poetry, who will? The fact is that a liking for poetry is unceremoniously murdered by inefficient or indifferent teaching at the most susceptible age. Most pupils who have been subjected early to a course of poetry-teaching arrive in the higher classes having developed a sort of natural resistance, or blind spot, for what is perhaps one of the greatest pleasures known to 'civilized' man, which does not necessarily mean twentieth-century man.

This general apathy is reciprocated by the teachers, for if you cast about you will notice the depressing fact that a vast majority of them heartily dislike the teaching of poetry, if not poetry itself. This would not be so bad if they trusted their instinct and refused to teach it altogether, which they do not. They seem hell-bent upon doing unto their students what was once done unto them. Men of feeling, they were rubbed the wrong way by poetry in their youth and hence were utterly lost to its delights for ever.

Some teachers, myself included, go in fear that there is a sort of sacrilege involved in the teaching of poetry—the very words 'teaching' and 'poetry' appear to be antithetical, in that poetry cannot be taught. At best, pupils can be made to *feel* it, which is good enough. (Some of the world's greatest poems contain specious illogicalities and patently absurd information, for obviously they were not written to satisfy the 'knowledge-hungry' mind.) A poem should not *mean* but *be*—as Louis Macneice

would have it. If to judge of poetry is the faculty of poets, to teach poetry is even more their prerogative. Unless a teacher has something of the poet in him, though he may not be given to writing poetry, he cannot conceivably do justice to it.

In fact, it would need an angel to carry out this tall order of driving home poetry, not merely teaching it, to a band of young Philistines who, however, because of their youth, happen to be the best qualified to receive it. Indeed, if there is one picture the word 'angel' conjures up, it is that of an ideal teacher of poetry, with his musical and melodious voice. An earthly angel in the shape of a classroom teacher (but with his wings clipped) should have an ear for the music of words no less than for the music of the harp, and ought as readily to respond to painting in words as to painting on canvas. The chiaroscuro of a Rembrandt landscape should strike him with no more immediacy and effect than, say, the terrifyingly sombre beauties that Shakespeare describes in Sonnet LXIII:

That time of year thou mayst in me behold
 When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
 Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
 Bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.
 In me thou see'st the twilight of such day
 As after sunset fadeth in the west;
 Which by and by black night doth take away,
 Death's second self, that seals up all in rest.
 In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,
 That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,
 As the death-bed whereon it must expire,
 Consumed with that which it was nourished by.
 This thou perceiv'st, which makes thy love more strong,
 To love that well which thou must leave ere long.

There are three types of teacher of verse whom one generally has the misfortune of meeting as a pupil, and I personally could never forget or forgive any of them.

One would say 'Listen to this, boys', and then, after appearing to digest the piece inwardly, would leave his audience in the lurch and take off on a solo flight to Parnassus. From the vastness of empty space his voice would come, faint and feeble, like that of a bad radio broadcast caught in a worse storm. The less said about him the better.

The second variety, whom one would rather not hear but who is almost always too audible, is the enthusiastic sort who is bursting with energy and clamouring for the attention of the world at large. 'Now isn't this lovely?' He would beg the question by asking this, and then proceed to make an unconscious parody of the wretched poem, accompanied by a most unlovely demonstration, physical and vocal, of what he thought to be the spirit that moved the

poet. As if seized with a holy frenzy, he would wallow in a stream of totally unrelated emotions, like one not in love but in love with being in love. This type is capable of more lasting damage to a young mind, which is bound to be attracted by him and is likely to infer that histrionics and hysteria are proper substitutes for poetic feeling. The more sensitive among his pupils will probably be repulsed and come to nourish a profound and lasting embarrassment about poetry, as if it were unworthy of robust and serious attention.

The third type unfortunately is the most iniquitous. He has apparently missed his vocation. He applies to poetry methods and treatment alien to its spirit and more proper to the study of physics and chemistry. He enforces poetry as a sort of discipline and, with a pedantic flair for hair-splitting, rates accuracy above the primitive magic and rhythm of an incantation. He regards poetry as only a somewhat inferior vehicle for the conveyance of information and consequently sets factual questions on it. ('Infer the living conditions of the shepherd and the rustic in twelfth-century England from the pastoral elegies of Matthew Arnold.') Poetry means nothing more or less to him than history or sociology, or at best psychology. He is tickled by it for the wrong reasons and makes it yield dividends by awarding marks for the 'right' answer. Some teachers even ask their students to paraphrase poetry, as if it were 'a sort of fancy dress for a prose statement' which could otherwise be more tolerably and respectably clothed in plain terms. I. A. Richards has something to say about this practice: '... the terms of the task set him (i.e. the pupil) are something of an outrage on his intelligence. He is given an original which presumably he respects; he is asked—under the unfair condition that he may use none of the best words because these have been used already by the original—to build up a cluster of words which will, so far as he can contrive, be an equivalent. The better reader he is, the more closely will he realize that what he is being asked to do is something not only presumptuous but impossible and absurd.'

Indeed, looking at what is being done in the name of teaching poetry, I am reminded of a joke which the magazine *Punch* published some years ago. An elderly lady sent a servant after her little son with the instruction 'Go and see what John is doing and tell him not to do it'. It would not be a bad idea if most of us stopped doing whatever we are doing in the classroom by way of teaching poetry, for the chances are that, like little John, we are, wittingly or unwittingly, up to some mischief.

Luckily poetry has an inner vitality and resilience which may be counted upon to preserve it and enable it to survive our teaching. Whether the pupils' interest in it survives or not is a different

matter and may depend upon *their* built-in vitality and resilience. Fortunately, the harm that we can do is limited by our personal influence which, in many cases, does not amount to much.

I would like to close with a piece of advice given by L. A. G. Strong: 'The first step towards appreciation is enjoyment: and no one can genuinely appreciate what he has not enjoyed.' If you can manage to achieve this end by any means whatsoever, it matters not how many rules of good teaching you break.

Making it Real:

1. Shops and Markets

JOHN PARRY

WHEN WE START teaching English to small children, we usually start with objects in the classroom. We teach them *This is a table* and *This is a window*. As we go on to verbs, we choose things that the children can do: *Stand up*; *Walk to the door*, and so on. We start in this way because it is important to make the new language real to the children. We are teaching through situation: the situation in the classroom.

Soon we want to move out of the classroom into the wider situation of their everyday lives. Things that happen in the home, in shops, in the market, on the street: we want the children to learn the language for these situations as well. We bring the outside world into the classroom by allowing children to act situations.

One of the most important parts of ordinary life is shopping, and it is very easy to make a classroom shop or a market. A low table can serve as the shop or the market stall. It should not be too high, because we want the children to play the parts of shop-keeper and customer and they must be able to see the goods easily. Goods can be of two kinds: commercial packets and imitation goods. Commercial packets are quite easily collected. Children can bring empty soap powder boxes, chocolate and other packets from home. If they have been carefully treated, they can be quite easily closed again and made to look like new. Bars of chocolate can be 're-created' by putting the old wrappers around pieces of wood of the right size. Of course, we only put these things in the shop if the children know them from home. By 'imitation goods' I mean mainly models made of clay or

papier-mâché.¹ With these materials we can make models of yams, brinjals, mangoes, bananas, and a whole range of vegetables and fruits. There is no need to make them full size, as children enjoy using smaller models, but they must be large enough to be recognized and, of course, they must be painted the right colour.

The model shop or market stall can be used for practice with English language and number. In these notes, I am concerned solely with English. The best approach is for the group of children using the shop to be taught a little conversation, which they can learn by heart. For example:

Child 1: Have you any good bananas?

Shopkeeper: Yes, here are some.

Child 1: Oh, yes, they are good. Please give me some.

The 'customer' can then go on to mangoes, coconuts, cassava, and so on.

It is a good idea to give the children a shopping list. One useful way of doing this is to have the names of the goods printed on cards, about the size of a postcard. Each child in the group is given one, two, or three cards, reads the words aloud, and then goes to the shop to 'buy' the goods. The goods on display should each be labelled as this will help the children with their reading.

To make the shopping seem more real, we can use paper 'money' which the children can make for themselves. The conversation might then end:

Shopkeeper: Here are the bananas.

Child 1: Thank you. Here is the money.

Note that we do not refer to actual sums of money (one shilling, etc.), nor to the number of bananas bought, until the children have reached this stage in their number lessons.

This is only one of a number of different types of conversation

¹*Papier-mâché*—This is torn-up paper used as material for models. There are two ways of doing it:

1. *Using a base*—To make a banana, for example, take a bent twig to use as a base. Take some old newspaper and tear it up into small pieces, which you then soak in water. Then wrap the pieces of paper around the twig, and keep on wrapping more and more, squeezing out the water and shaping with your fingers until you have a banana shape.

2. *Without a base*—Tear the paper into very small pieces and leave it to soak in water for three days. Pound it. Squeeze out the water, and mix the pulp with paste or flour. It is now ready to be shaped in the same way as clay or plasticine. As it dries, it will harden.

In both cases, old newspapers may be used. It is useful, however, to cover the final model with clean white paper, such as tissue paper, treated as in method 1, as this will give you a clean surface for painting.

which can be practised. To end these notes, here is one more suggestion.

Child 2: Have you any pencils?

Shopkeeper: No, I'm sorry. I haven't any pencils.

Child 2: Have you any chalk?

Shopkeeper: Yes, here is some chalk.

English in the Commonwealth:

9. The West Indies

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THE TEACHING of English in many parts of the world is a problem of foreign language teaching, in which there is an awareness, on the part of the pupils as well as the teacher, that new skills and habits have to be acquired. Thus undue stresses and strains need not enter into the situation, as the difficulties are fairly well defined. In an area, on the other hand, where the teaching of English involves the exertion of considerable social pressures on the child, where the teacher is at odds even with himself because of his indeterminate position in the linguistic scale of things, and where the linguist is unsure of the nature of the problem because of lack of research, one is faced with a problem which cannot be resolved along the lines effective in other situations. One such area is that frequently denoted by the term the British West Indies,¹ a string of territories lying along an arc stretching from British Honduras, on the central American mainland, through the Caribbean Sea to British Guiana, on the north-east tip of south America.

The official language of all these territories is English and it is commonly supposed that the native language of the peoples is also English. Obvious exceptions are the inhabitants of Dominica and St Lucia, who speak a French-based Creole as a native tongue, and considerable numbers in British Honduras and British Guiana who speak Spanish or one of the Amerindian languages as a first—sometimes the only—language. But the English spoken by the vast majority of West Indians is frequently hardly recognizable as such, as the visitor who ventures beyond

¹Jamaica and Trinidad are now independent countries.

the limits of the tourist playgrounds soon discovers. The fact of the matter is that there exists a very fluid linguistic situation: at one end of the scale there is an English-based Creole, spoken predominantly by the rural inhabitant and the urban worker, and at the other a recognizable Standard English, spoken (at least to the foreigner) by the educated middle and upper classes. Such categorization, however, is a dangerous convenience, for one often finds the peasant, fisherman, or labourer (particularly the one who has frequent contact with tourists, for example) who can switch from incomprehensible patois to passable English even in the middle of a conversation; and there must be very few (if any) educated West Indians who, while using Standard English perhaps for most purposes of communication, cannot employ the local Creole or Dialect at will. What further obscures the view is the conflict of opinion on the exact status of the local folk language: already in this paragraph the terms Patois, Creole, and Dialect have been used to refer to one and the same phenomenon and this is intended to reflect the uncertainty not only of the layman but of the linguist also. The fluidity already mentioned, the ability of the individual to move from one end of the scale to the other, makes it very difficult to discern a self-contained system which can be definitely labelled.

Nevertheless, scholarly research has been carried out in Jamaica on local usage, and the term Jamaican Creole has been applied to that form commonly employed by the majority of people during normal social intercourse (e.g. in the home, in the rum shop, between equals at work, etc.). Such a term, of course, implies the existence of a discrete language which owes something to one or more other systems, so that there are always recognizable elements in one or more of the levels. This is true Jamaican Creole: 95% of the vocabulary is derived from English (the other 5% is of Spanish and African origin) and the sound system obviously bears a resemblance to English. It is in its grammatical system that Jamaican Creole differs most from Standard English and it is this, more than its phonology, that places it in a different category from that of a dialect, though it is this term that is most commonly used by Jamaicans to describe it. As the linguistic development in the other English-speaking territories has been similar in many respects to that of Jamaica, the general principles applying to the Jamaican situation apply there also, though there are differences of detail. It is partly on the basis of the research just mentioned that methods and materials are being worked out to improve the standard of teaching English throughout the West Indies.

When the West Indian child enters school (at five years of age in some territories, seven in others), he has thus so far been brought up in a linguistic environment which prepares him to

believe that he speaks English. It comes as a considerable shock to him, therefore, when, early in his school career, he finds that the teacher quite patently refuses to share this belief. All too often he will hear the admonition 'Leave your bad English at home' or 'Say that in good English'. Happily this attitude on the part of the teacher is disappearing but it is still to be found all too frequently and the untold harm that it does can hardly be exaggerated. Not only are the linguistic problems intensified by an ignorance of the true nature of the situation, but unnecessary psychological factors are introduced which bedevil the teacher's efforts. The dangers of the situation are increased by the fact that there is a severe shortage of teachers and that less than half of those serving have received any training.

The overlapping of some Creole elements with those of Standard English constitutes the greatest single linguistic obstacle encountered by West Indian children in their learning of the language; this difficulty is rare in foreign-language learning and is one not easy to define. Indeed, as teachers of English to West Indian immigrant children in England have discovered, it is often difficult to decide whether an 'error' should be regarded as sub-standard usage or ascribed to the intrusion of a Creole element. The situation is further blurred by the existence of a local educated standard—in Jamaica it is termed Jamaican Standard English—which is the result of Standard British English modified by the influence of local usage, and it is this standard which is heard far more often than the British form and the one which school-children are more likely to acquire. It is in this area that the teacher finds himself feeling most uncertain; while, on the one hand, he will insist that it is British English he is teaching and it is this that the pupils must reproduce, on the other he will recognize and often admit that he frequently uses non-British forms in his speech—forms perfectly acceptable in his own social and cultural setting. Thus one frequently finds a double standard situation, one in which the pupil may converse freely with the teacher in accepted local standard but in which the reproduction of such usage in written work will meet with castigation. Confusion is thus further confounded. Furthermore, with independence on the way, or already achieved, local feelings of nationalism tend to increase the currency of local forms and structures, and yet, at the same time, parents and educators alike regard the teaching or acceptance in school of anything other than British English as offering second best. Such ambivalence, therefore, has a chronic effect on attempts to achieve a reasonable standard in the schools.

As has already been implied, the linguistic situation is also bound up with complex sociological factors, which can only be briefly considered here. For example, there is the question of the

status of Creole. It has been said that Jamaicans, for example, will refer to this as 'the dialect', the implication being that it is a substandard form of English identified with illiteracy and low social status. Indeed, research into the attitudes of teachers has shown that they are unwilling to admit that they themselves ever use this form of speech except, perhaps, to tell a humorous or traditional story or to communicate with someone who knows no better. It should be said that the graduate teacher in the secondary school is less afflicted by this 'snobbishness' because he can switch easily from one code to the other and is much more sure of his position. The primary teacher, however, has no such assurance and therefore tends to be much more reactionary in his views, so that the most impressionable age-group does not enjoy a particularly favourable atmosphere in which to learn English. Worse still, because of the insistence on 'good English' being the only form with any status, even in local affairs, the child is encouraged to despise his native tongue but, because of overcrowded conditions in the classrooms, poor teaching methods, and the lack of any real opportunity to hear and use Standard English, he is thrown into a no-man's-land in which he feels ashamed and at odds with the world.

Nor is the linguist concerned with teaching matters any better off. While he will recognize the status of Creole and can produce language materials which provide for a situation in which British English is consistently the model, he is frequently confounded by the existence of a local standard which nowhere has yet been codified. While common sense might seem to suggest a compromise, by which the teacher will accept deviations from British English that, to him, accord with local educated usage, the linguist (and the teacher) will point out that no one is in a position to say what this is, so that it would be an indefensible line to take. In a conference on English language teaching held at the University of the West Indies in 1963 it was resolved that research should be initiated into local educated usage in an attempt to determine an acceptable standard, but until this is done the teacher has to conform, in theory at any rate, with the existing requirements.

What, then, is being done to alleviate the situation? Let it be said at this point that the least to blame are the teachers. Faced with very considerable odds and often lacking training of any kind, they battle conscientiously to achieve as much as is possible in the circumstances. With their intelligent co-operation and constant determination to effect improvement, a great deal can be done, and is being done, to help the children to benefit as much as they are capable of doing from the provisions of the educational system. First and foremost all recognize that language is communication and that communication is the essential element in

teaching and learning. As a result of several in-service courses, held in a number of territories, some teachers are now experimenting with a basically oral approach to English teaching, particularly in the early stages. Considerable use is being made of visual aids and pupil activity to encourage the child to talk more about the things he sees and does. Obviously in the reception class a good deal of the local Creole has to be allowed—and sometimes used even by the teacher, particularly to make the child feel at ease—but Standard English is introduced by asking the child to repeat sentences after the teacher: he is told that this is 'another way' of saying it and the way in which he will be expected to speak in class. This avoids any derogatory reference to his own patterns of speech and encourages the idea that he is learning a new language, the use of which is appropriate in certain circumstances. While this puts the seal of formality on the use of Standard English, it is felt that no great harm results because it will always be in a more or less formal situation that he is likely to use it. In any case, what is more important is the way in which it is used in class and the emphasis here is on easiness and fluency, with the language being employed to talk about things closely connected with the child and his environment. Correctness is instilled by example and repetition and not by reference to any rules or to notions of what is 'good' or 'inferior'. Reading and writing are introduced at an appropriate stage, the materials being based on the forms and patterns already learned in the oral lessons; stories and poems, adapted where necessary and possible, are also used to familiarize the children with a particular form or structure. One controlled and limited experiment being carried on at present by members of the staff of the Faculty of Education of the University of the West Indies is attempting to introduce structures in a strictly graded order, the materials having been worked out on the basis of what is known of the kinds of errors repeatedly made by West Indian schoolchildren. The results of this experiment will be expected to show the efficacy of both methods and materials and in particular to indicate what forms and structures of Standard English are most easily learned and what are not. It must be remembered that certain elements are already passively known, partly because they are similar in Creole and partly because they are frequently heard by most of the children in their everyday life—over the radio or at the cinema perhaps, or in the big towns where there are still considerable numbers of expatriates. Another interesting programme, began in 1964 in Jamaica, is intended to integrate the Language Arts programme in the primary schools into all aspects of the curriculum. A topic or theme, which might be suggested by any 'subject' on the time-table, is made the basis for discussion, reading, writing, and activity, so that the language

being acquired is given a solid basis of reality and impetus is given to its use in all areas of school activity. A detail of this programme has been the exchange of letters, drawings, etc., between the children of two schools in fairly close proximity, each group telling the other what it has been engaged in over the previous fortnight or so. Teachers have been enthusiastic over this activity because it has the effect of putting the children on their 'best' linguistic behaviour and further fortifies the air of reality engendered by the whole programme. Final judgement on both the schemes outlined cannot be made for some time and it is clear that a good deal of modification is still necessary, but the combination of foreign-language teaching methods and the employment to the greatest extent of the linguistic material latent in the child seems to offer the greatest promise at present.

At the secondary school level some attempt is being made also to make oral work the main element in English teaching in the first and second years, but this cannot be pressed too far as the schools follow a five-year school certificate course and methods and materials are based squarely on those employed in English schools. It is readily admitted that a new approach is needed but the fear of neglecting the more formal parts of the course, with the consequent under-preparation of pupils for the British-designed examinations, precludes any real opportunity of completely overhauling English teaching at that level at the present time. However, consistently poor examination results over the past years certainly indicate a need for an agonizing reappraisal and radical changes are urgently needed. Perhaps the establishment of a West Indies Examinations Council, already mooted, will provide the stimulus, but reform cannot be long delayed if a crisis is to be avoided.

Obviously in a situation of this kind the training colleges and the university have a critical role to play. The colleges have long been aware of the problems and work hard to produce teachers who can make some real contribution to their solution. However, in fairness to the colleges, it must be borne in mind that the type of student they have to accept is usually one who has completed only elementary education and who needs, therefore, considerable time spent on him in remedial work to bring him up to training standard. Hence the quality of teacher being produced leaves much to be desired and conditions for him are not made more encouraging by overcrowded classrooms and lack of sometimes even the most basic equipment. There is no doubt that the training colleges need to reform their curricula in the light of these conditions and efforts are now being made in this direction in co-operation with the University of the West Indies Faculty of Education. It is interesting to note, however, that the reform of the

final examination paper in English Language, which is moderated by university staff, has not in itself had the effect of reforming teaching in the colleges and it is clear that a much closer study of their aims in relation to the whole situation will have to be undertaken. Efforts, however, must be made immediately to produce more teachers with some training and, to expedite this, emergency training colleges have been set up in some territories which offer a twenty-week course for school leavers: it is intended that they should later follow a full course of training at one of the established colleges. Mention should also be made of the Jamaican scheme of recruiting secondary school leavers, giving them a crash course during the summer vacation, and sending them out as 'national volunteers' to help alleviate the situation.

The university is acutely aware of the need to improve standards in the schools and employs its limited resources to their greatest extent in this direction. The full-time Diploma in Education course is already well established and increasing numbers of graduates are recruited for it each year; even so, the idea of the necessity for training is still foreign to far too many and the total number of diploma holders so far produced is still too few to make any real impression. The Certificate of Education course, designed for non-graduate trained teachers of some experience who are designated for posts of responsibility, has had greater influence in its own sphere precisely because the students are nominated by their governments in order that they might return with a fresh outlook and developed ideas. Obviously, then, education in the need for training must be a matter for propaganda to be carried on by the schools, the Ministries of Education, and the university combined. The newly instituted courses for the Higher Diploma in Education and the M.A. degree will, it is hoped, help to provide motivation in this respect. Taken by themselves they are meant (a) to provide further training in depth and to enable a much greater degree of specialization in particular subject teaching, and (b) to encourage research by serving teachers into all aspects of education in the West Indies, thus stimulating thought and producing material on the basis of which concrete and far-reaching reforms can be carried out. Lastly, mention must be made of the recently introduced scheme of offering Education as one of the subjects in the general degree course: the inclusion of this subject in his degree will not exempt the student from taking, at a later date, the qualifying diploma examination, but it is so designed in its theoretical and practical aspects that it will produce, after three years, a graduate prepared in some measure to play his part in secondary school teaching.

The overall picture, then, is of a situation in which it is being realized that methods and materials appropriate to a foreign-

language situation have more relevance than the hitherto all too traditional English 'grammar rule and vocabulary list' approach, with its concomitant insistence on introducing dull and irrelevant reading material too early and emphasis on 'practising the rules in writing'. It is clear that a great deal still has to be done in the field of linguistic research as well as that of methods, and it is fully recognized that both the psychologist and the sociologist have to be involved if a solution satisfactory to all aspirations is to be produced. The area covered in this article is a very large one,¹ so that exceptions of detail must be assumed and differences of achievement accepted for different territories, but there is no doubt that the problems outlined are *West Indian* in their nature, not specific to particular territories only, and can only be resolved on a co-ordinated basis. The University of the West Indies is the one remaining federal institution and it is therefore very conscious of its duty to give the lead in research and experimentation. Resources of personnel and material are at present stretched to their utmost, but what can be done must be done and headway is being made with the support of the various ministries, teachers, and other interested parties. It is to be hoped that as developments take place so more finance will be made available from interested sources to assist the recruitment of more qualified staff and the acquisition of more equipment to enable an all-out drive to be made to improve standards in the teaching and learning of English, which is essential if success in all school subjects is to be achieved.

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¹For example, the distance between Jamaica and Trinidad is about 1,200 miles.

The Practice and Method of Language Laboratory Teaching

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BROADLY SPEAKING there are two commonly held and opposed views on the value of language laboratory teaching. The 'progressive' view is that their long established use in the U.S.A. and the more recent rapid expansion of their use in Europe and elsewhere proves that they do all that is claimed of them. Moreover, they form an essential part of any audio-visual course and a refusal to benefit from the advantages they provide sabotages the effort to revolutionize language teaching. Local education authorities have provided many British schools with these machines and their utility is therefore taken as self-evident.

The 'traditionalist' replies that these machines were essential in the U.S.A. to overcome their chronic shortage of teachers and the mere fact of their production does not prove that this method of teaching is superior to that of a live teacher in any way. The claim that various authorities have bought them is a tribute to the salesmanship of the manufacturers, who have urged schools and institutes to 'keep up with the educational Joneses', while in overseas universities these expensive toys often lie idle and unused.

There is some truth in both these arguments. Many of the claims made by the 'progressives' about improving accents, the virtues of repetition exercises, the value of auto-correction, and the freedom of the 'library system' for taped lessons are often not very well substantiated. One has the feeling that the theoreticians have got to work without always checking the efficacy of their ideas with the dull reality of actual experience in the laboratory.

On the other hand, the view taken by the 'traditionalists' is too rigid. The strength of their argument rests mainly on the negative basis that many authorities have put the cart before the horse. They have bought the machines and then told teachers to produce their own material. This may be quite practical for small specialized groups of students such as one may find in a university faculty, where aims and syllabuses may vary from country to country, but from an overall point of view it is uneconomic in effort and anarchic in effect. In my own recent personal experience I have heard a taped German course for English schools spoken by a teacher whose accent remained truly British; I have visited a foreign language institute, where they had simply taped the

thirty-year-old records of a Linguaphone course, and a foreign university where the English teacher had asked his local assistant to make 'typical mistakes' for easy comparison with his own correct version! Faute de mieux, some teachers have even recorded whole slices of prose and exercises straight out of well-known textbooks.

Ignoring for the moment audio-visual courses, which I regard as still experimental and which in any case give rise to quite different problems, we can best consider the practical advantages of ordinary language laboratory work by getting down to first principles.

Briefly, then, a language laboratory can do the following things for the teaching of English:

- (a) The student can hear perfect examples of English sounds and sentences.
- (b) He can attempt to repeat these on the second band of the tape.
- (c) He can practise a variety of changes on a given structure in set drills and substitution exercises in which a 'prompt' word is used to trigger off the correct response.
- (d) He can answer questions from passages for comprehension or listen to and write down dictation from a passage on tape.
- (e) He can subsequently listen to any of the above exercises on 'playback' and therefore compare his own version to that of the 'master voice'.

Now any of these exercises with the exception of (e) may be done in the classroom, provided that a native speaker is available. We are therefore dealing with a difference of degree and not of kind: it is the advantage of the individual tutorial over the crowded seminar or, if the classroom teacher is unduly loquacious, the parallel of the lecture hall may be even more appropriate. Although the monitor can, and should, break in from time to time, the amount of 'master voice' on the tape can easily be controlled and kept below 50 per cent of the time available in a way that no live teacher's voice can.

Basically, then, an audio-oral course can be designed which is complementary and supplementary to an ordinary intensive course in the classroom. In several respects a teacher is obviously better than a machine: his teaching is elastic and fluid and he can give imaginative examples on the spur of the moment to drive a point home, which is quite beyond the scope of the rigidity of a machine. With visual aids a teacher can choose a completely random order for object recognition and above all there is the indefinable spirit between a good teacher and his class—the humour, the sympathy, and even the laughter—which the language laboratory cannot compete with.

On the other hand, the laboratory can relieve the teacher of a great deal of the hard work which can be done, but far less economically, in the classroom. It is often pointed out that in the usual fifty-minute class with twenty-five students, no one can speak for more than an average of two minutes and this only if the teacher says nothing! The multiplication of opportunity for speaking is obvious if the same twenty-five students are put into individual booths, where each can go at his own speed without fear of making a fool of himself before the whole class.

The need for 'chorus responses', which is necessitated by lack of time in the classroom, is replaced by 'individual responses' in the laboratory. Indeed, all repetition work, whether of certain sounds, or of stress or intonation patterns, is far better dealt with on tape. The student can stop, go back, and compare in the laboratory. This is out of the question in a normal class, where incidentally he will hear many more bad examples from his practising fellow-students than he will correct examples from the teacher himself.

The same advantages hold for set drills, short dialogues, and substitution exercises. Once again it is a question of time being used more economically by an individual in a booth than by a whole group in a classroom.

The most important lesson, which is quickly learned by anybody who has ever monitored in a laboratory, is that the presentation of the material must be clear and unambiguous. There must be no attempt to catch the student out by trick questions or to ask open questions that could have a variety of answers. Some tapes have even been produced, which are no more than a phonic version of existing textbooks. In this case a teacher could equally well have read the passage out in class.

First of all, the instructions should be short and clear and there should not be much variety in the response patterns. In repetition exercises it will be enough to say 'Repeat' and leave one pause only for the student's answer. This is true both for phonetic exercises, i.e. contrasted vowel sounds, minimal pairs, homophones, etc., and for simple sentences showing structural or intonation patterns. Most of the other types of drills are more demanding on the student and, since it is common for him to make a mistake at the first attempt, the slower double-space pattern should be used, i.e. first the prompt-word, secondly the student's attempted answer, thirdly the master voice's correct version of the answer, and lastly the student's own corrected version. Each such exercise must be preceded by at least two set type examples, given preferably by a male and female voice. Thus if there is any confusion or misunderstanding, the student can turn straight back to the set examples at the beginning of the exercise. If the response pattern

is properly understood, one can eliminate those irritating 'bleeps' which some of the early courses indulged in.

If clarity of presentation is the first essential, avoidance of boredom is the second. It may be impossible to avoid this for a full-time monitor, unless he has a machine which can emit more than one lesson at a time. But the student can be spared in several ways. No one has yet decided if and when the law of diminishing returns begins to affect an intensive course but one may assume that the ordinary civilian employee would not have time to attend more than one class a day. In this case a programme of $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours a week (one hour's classroom teaching followed by half an hour in the laboratory for five days a week) would be a reasonable average. In this case one 13-minute tape could be repeated twice. The student would either speak on his second band both times or more probably devote some of the time to 'listening for comparison', particularly when he wanted to compare his own attempt with the master voice's version in the phonetic and intonation drills.

Once the early thrill of 'hearing your own voice' and playing with a new machine has worn off, boredom can creep in if the text is treated unimaginatively. A year's experience as a monitor has taught me that exercises must be short. Six to eight is the maximum number of sentences that should be formed from a given structural example. Again, it is confusing to the student (and therefore bad for a taped session) to jump about too quickly with different parts of a sentence in substitution drills. If the prompt word is a noun, you may find that the student will quite logically substitute it for the 'subject' when you meant him to do it for the 'object'. A well prepared course would prevent the possibility of such an error occurring.

Short dialogues should be introduced very early in the course. Even two or three lines of the type:

'Hello, Bill, How are you?'

'I'm fine, thanks.'

are most successful on tape and this is an aspect in which the language laboratory is unrivalled in getting the student to produce current modern idioms. The simpler dialogues can be learned by heart with the correct intonation and later these can be built up into short conversations of seven or eight lines, in which after the first two steps of listening and then repeating, the student can be asked to supply the lines of one of the speakers as the third step.

At a later stage the same technique can be used for comprehension. There is little point in asking several questions on a long piece of prose before a student is confident in his speech. With single interrogative sentences, anything except the short answer

form, 'Yes, I did', 'No, I couldn't', is quite unnatural. If the long answer form is required, it can be elicited better by a question suggesting a contradiction, e.g.

'Is Mary a French boy?'

'No, she's an English girl.'

Even when the elementary student can tackle longer comprehension passages, which are naturally first given in toto, it is better to interject the questions at intervals and not store them all up for the end. In other words, the second reading is broken up into three or four paragraphs, so that questions and answers can take place after each paragraph. In this way the sequence of ideas can be taken gradually. Only later may the student be expected to have acquired enough fluency in expression and retention of meaning to be able to answer all the questions at the end of the passage.

It is often claimed that the language laboratory improves pronunciation. This is true to a certain extent but it is rarely achieved by mere auto-correction. First of all, if the student actually reads the text in the booth he will make all the familiar 'eye mistakes'—*bʌtʃə* for *butʃə*, *knɒkəd* for *nɒkt*, *lou* for *lɔː*, etc.—even though he is listening to the master voice at the same time. Without a text he will approximate more closely to the correct sound even though the words may appear as nonsense words to him. Besides, the background of his mother tongue will obviously still intrude. In other words, the difficulties in English which are endemic for a French or Spanish student must first be explained in class and only then can the monitor correct him by reminding him of the phonological explanations previously given.

Just as the teacher in the classroom spends the first few lessons teaching without reference to the book, so the early lessons on tape will deal with the sounds of English. In the classroom the teacher is saying 'Look at this' and pointing to real objects, whereas the master voice on the tape is better employed saying 'Listen to this', thus allowing the student to get used to hearing elementary conversational phrases, e.g.

'I'm Mr Smith. I'm English.'

'Good morning, John. How are you?'

and other such simple examples of basic requirements at the introductory stage. The student will already have seen these phrases 'acted' in the classroom, but he will still need listening practice to absorb them properly, so that very soon he will be able to pass from the passive understanding of them to active repetition.

More controversial is how and when single sounds should be

introduced. In order to speak English properly the different phonemes must be mastered and, since a taped lesson is in a sense remedial, this is a perfectly proper exercise for the language laboratory. In one way or another every such course has to attempt to solve this problem. The danger is that mere concentration on the sound may result in examples being given which verge on nonsense or at least sound highly unnatural. One recent course expects students to repeat the contrast 'Still here' and 'Steel here', while non-contextual examples such as 'That's a very old carp' are equally confusing to beginners who expect to understand what they are saying.

My own view is that the phonetics side should be essentially practical. Naturally, local teachers will need to concentrate on local errors as far as possible, but when one is thinking in terms of a general course and not one zoned for a particular linguistic area, one has to deal with general difficulties. I therefore suggest that vowels, diphthongs, and consonants should be introduced methodically in the accepted order and not at random. Contrasting long and short vowels and voiced and voiceless consonants is the obvious way to do this on tape. Thus the whole range of English sounds will be covered, while in each lesson a short section can be devoted to specific phonological difficulties encountered in that particular lesson. For example, the three distinct plural endings will have to be dealt with at an early stage, while the common verbal contractions—'It's a . . .' 'They're . . .' 'She'd better . . .' 'I'd like to . . .', etc., can be drilled as and when they occur. The laboratory should be used for the practice of these sounds but not for their explanation.

In conclusion, I come back to my original contention: the teacher is better at some things and the laboratory at others. The planner of a course must make this distinction at the beginning, if he wants the final result to be truly complementary.

A New Way of Looking at Projected Pictures

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THERE WOULD SEEM to be two steps to take in using projected pictures (colour transparencies, etc.): the first, to get the student to practise his English consciously, the second to get him to talk freely.

The technique used for the first step—which is most successful with children—is well known: the teacher shows a picture and asks questions to which the picture itself gives an unequivocal answer. Suppose he shows a picture of a man digging a hole in a field. He may ask 'What's the man doing?' The pupil would not have the slightest hesitation in answering the question were it put to him in his own language, and he is here concerned with finding the 'correct' vocabulary and 'correct' constructions with which to express the 'correct' answer.

This step may—as far as the adult student is concerned—be harmful if prolonged. The student is definitely aware that he is practising a *foreign* language, which is presumably what one would like him to forget; and the questions are absurd in the sense that he knows that the teacher knows the answer already. And again, he is not obliged to think, because the picture 'thinks' for him; and in teaching a language one would like to have the students feel that it is an instrument of thought, as is his own.

When should one take the second step? When can the adult student be assumed to be fairly advanced? After how many years of study? There can be no clear-cut answer to this, as much will depend on whether the student has been taught to think in the language from the start, and on whether he has been encouraged to adopt a critical attitude to his other studies. Perhaps it is enough to say that the second step is particularly indicated for the adult student with a reasonable control and vocabulary.¹

Free talk, discussion, and conversation imply a subject of common interest about which there will be some disagreement, a

¹The techniques talked about above for getting the students to talk freely come from language work done at the British Council's Institute, Athens, over a period of six months this year, with a group of Greek civil servants who were to attend university-level courses in English abroad. It was found that although they all understood English and had a reasonable vocabulary, they were diffident in expressing themselves, and projector work was considered as a stimulus. The conventional method described in the article yielded no results, but by playing on the 'ambiguity' element—which, incidentally, was hit on

dialectic. If one can accept this premise, then it must follow that the picture to be shown must interest and at the same time have something about it which will provoke disagreement, and so it must be 'ambiguous'. Far from being a model of clarity, as colour slides, film strips, and wall pictures¹ designed for classroom work so often are, there should be something which calls for clarification or comment, and this 'something' should be capable of two or more interpretations, should be ideally something which no two members of a class would see in quite the same way, should have the same element of ambiguity as ink blots used in psychiatric tests. There will, however, not necessarily be a *pictorial* ambiguity: the picture might well represent something which will stimulate the student's imagination and make him want to discuss a controversial subject, such as—in the broadest sense—politics; clearly the ideal picture will be one which does both—the student will be stimulated to comment on the picture as a picture and at the same time the subject of the picture will make him want to go on to more general comments. Later examples should make this clear.

The important thing is that the picture need not be wonderfully professional: it should not arouse aesthetic distaste but need not be a 'nice' picture—a 'nice' landscape—as too often 'nice' pictures make the student exclaim 'That's nice!' and nothing else, for the reaction required is quite other than that of admiration for the artist or photographer. This is one reason why this article is being written: many teachers, or their students, must have colour transparencies of their own (and the apparatus for projecting them) which would be suitable for this work. And as the student will more often than not be interested in his own country rather than in others, it would not be such a bad idea to let him show his own pictures. If the subject puzzles the teacher then so much the better, as he can then ask the student to explain if, for example, some local custom is shown.

The test for selecting a picture is quite simple. If it interests the

¹ *Wall pictures*. On the face of it, projected pictures would seem to be more suitable for classroom work than wall pictures. The conventional wall picture is often boring in itself, and the student feels that it will be kept on the wall for the whole period—there is no escape; whereas the nature of projected pictures leads him to feel that they will be replaced (as they should be) as soon as they lose his interest.

It is best, however, to design pictures that will not be boring, by following the concept of 'ambiguity' outlined above.

quite by chance: another method *had* to be found—good results were rapidly achieved.

This work was carried out at the suggestion of the Institute's Director of Studies, to whom I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness for help with this article.

teacher as a picture, and something about it makes him scratch his head and wonder 'What's this?' 'What's going on here?' and so on, then it will almost certainly have the same effect on the student; if, however, the teacher finds the picture dull the student probably will too.

As far as technique is concerned, the teacher should decide on the ambiguity he means to exploit and phrase a 'leading question' based on this ambiguity. If the leading question works it will provoke different reactions from different members of the class, and the teacher will then get them individually to justify their points of view. In other terms, the first question, such as 'What?' should always be capable of being followed up by 'Why?' If the subject really captures the students' imagination they will start arguing amongst themselves almost without prompting, and the teacher's role will be to keep the argument going, sometimes like a chairman, sometimes like an 'agent provocateur' asking perverse questions and playing off one student against another. Finally he will get the students to reach some sort of agreement as to what the answer or possible answers are. In the process, of course, the student will be much more concerned with expressing his *thoughts* than with giving a 'correct' answer of the 'What-is-that-man-doing-who's-digging-a-hole?' kind; indeed there may well be no 'correct' answer. If his interest is sufficiently aroused, he will forget that he is first and foremost practising a foreign language; he will want to say what he *thinks* and will subconsciously be using the language as a tool for thought—and in this sense will be talking 'real' English because he will have something to say and not merely an answer to give.

Briefly, then, the picture will provoke questions to which there are a variety of answers, often self-contradictory, and the teacher will base his questions on the picture's inherent ambiguity. Both picture and technique are clearly interdependent.

It is also self-evident that the picture should not pose linguistic problems out of the student's range, nor too well within it: it would be unwise to show intermediate students a picture, say, of a shipyard if they did not know the words needed for talking about it; similarly, as suggested, the 'man-digging-the-hole' picture would be unsuitable for advanced students because there is not a great deal, even with the best will in the world, to say about a man digging a hole. And naturally the student's age, background, and experience should be taken into consideration. The picture is to be used to give the student a chance to use the English he knows, to consolidate his knowledge, not as a 'prop' or pretext for the teacher to introduce formal grammatical elements requiring blackboard work, which in any case will be out of the question, because the room will be in semi-darkness.

In practice, the introduction of new material will almost certainly be restricted to giving some new vocabulary, often at the student's request. It goes without saying that the picture should not be treated as are many wall pictures, the teacher giving a catalogue of the objects shown.

After all this theorizing, here are some concrete examples—not at all intended to be exhaustive—of the kind of 'ambiguity' to look for and exploit.

(1) *Relationships between people.* Pictures such as and like 'stills'¹ from films, showing some sort of dramatic situation in which it may be clear what is happening but not why. (Pictures cut from the sort of magazine serializing films or presenting a story through photographs—'photoromans'—may be used with the epidiascope.) Here the teacher gets the class to establish what is happening in the picture, then gets it to speculate on the events which led up to the situation and its possible consequences.

For example: Has the man in the bowler hat knocked the other man down, or has he fallen? And if he's knocked him down, why? And why is the woman holding his arm? To stop him hitting the other man again? Or what? And who is she?

(2) *Actions and gestures.* This sort of ambiguity is to be found in the 'situation' picture mentioned above. Is the man in the overcoat coming or going? What sort of reaction is he showing? Why? Perhaps he is reacting to something outside the picture: if so, what is it? Those people standing at the grand piano and looking down, what are they looking at? A body? Whose body?

Here the student will often have to base his answers and his reasoning on subtleties: the 'atmosphere' of the photo, the position of an arm, the inclination of a head. After some practice of this kind he will become much more alert and observant.

(3) *Place and time.* The picture provides a clue to what is happening and/or when, and will lead the student to do a little 'detective' work.

Examples: A street scene, taken at the time of a royal funeral: a flag at half-mast identifies place and time. A queue outside a polling station: a policeman identifies the scene, the weather gives a clue as to the actual elections taking place. A restaurant scene

¹*Stills.* One can often pick up old stills in junk shops, but their size prevents them from being used with a class of more than three or four. They can, however, be invaluable for work with the student who already knows the language and wants to 'revise it' or 'brush it up'. By showing him stills and getting them to comment on them, the teacher can quickly gauge his standard, and at the same time give him 'real' practice in self-expression. They can also be used for testing a student's knowledge objectively; and to help someone who is shy and has not much to say for himself or does not want to talk to overcome his shyness.

with a boy in the background holding a kite: since the picture was taken in Greece and shown to Greeks, it was in all probability taken only on a certain day of the year.

Here one may point out that the teacher should always see the picture *on the screen* before the student does, since a picture that seems promising in miniature—a colour transparency held up against the light—will often turn out to be a dud in projection; and, vice versa, a detail revealed, as in the case of the flag at half-mast, in large-scale projection will often ‘make’ the picture. And because he may often need to point to a detail, the teacher should not himself work the projector but leave this to a student.

One of the most interesting things about this kind of work is that the student often sees something the teacher has overlooked—or sees it in quite a different way; so that the teacher as a result feels that he has learned something.

Again, as a matter of common sense, the teacher should at once go on to the next picture if he realizes that the one he is showing is boring the class. One cannot pretend always to be able to gauge what will or will not interest the student, and because of this it is wise to take into class twice the number of pictures thought to be enough for a lesson; generally speaking, eight should be enough for a fifty-minute period.

It will be clear from the examples given above (the funeral, the polling station, the restaurant scene) that they serve as a basis for more general discussion, that the talk may move away from the picture. The polling station picture can be used to get the students to talk about the electoral system, for instance. Indeed, as suggested above, a ‘good’ picture may often be one about which there is not much to be said *as a picture*.

This is one way of showing the pictures; that is to say, as single units having no linguistic or pictorial connection with one another. The remarks made about their possible exploitation hold good for the technique of showing pictures in series.

The teacher will find, however, that it is better to start a course of these lessons by first showing unit pictures, as the student may well be taken unawares by the approach and need a little time to see what is required of him. He will be inclined to think, when he sees the projector for the first time, that he is going to be treated to a free film show; and may put up some resistance to talking at first, especially when he realizes that he has not only to talk but to think. But once the student has himself mastered the technique of answering and knows how to look at the pictures, the teacher should go on to a series, which offers far greater scope for discussion.

Two kinds of a series lend themselves readily to this work: sequences—for example, a sequence of action pictures showing steps in a ‘story’—or pictures showing the same scene taken at

different times and/or from a different viewpoint. In showing both kinds of series there are two techniques to be used: showing 'straight' and showing out of order.

Examples:

(1) The teacher has cut out a series of pictures from a film magazine, perhaps from a film in the news, such as one with James Bond. (Topical subjects, especially of the kind which lend themselves to irony, can be relied on to make an immediate appeal.) If he shows the sequence 'straight', he may ask the student to comment on the situations as in 1 and 2 above, and ask him to speculate as to what the next picture will show. If he shows the pictures out of sequence he may ask the same sort of questions while inviting the student to put them back into sequence, giving his reasons; here, it will be seen at once, the possibilities for 'ambiguity' will be considerably increased, and if the pictures as units are in themselves ambiguous then the series as a whole will be capable of very many different interpretations and the scope for speculation will be virtually unlimited.

(2) A series of pictures showing the same scene but taken at different times may be used in this way.

Pairs of pictures are extremely useful in this respect as they call for close observation and reasoned comparison. For example, the teacher shows a picture of a building site in which it is perhaps not quite clear what is happening; he invites comment; then he shows the second picture which may throw some light on the first; with this sort of pair he may base his questions on the 'before and after' pattern—'Which picture was taken first?' 'Why?'

Pairs may also be used for note-taking exercises: the teacher has two pictures of, say, a beach; one taken in the morning, the other in the evening. He asks the student to take notes on one picture, then goes on to show quite a different series, after which he shows the second picture, again asking the student to make notes on it and then make a written comparison for homework.

(3) Series of pictures of which only one contains a clue as to the identity or nature of the scene(s) shown. Here one may show thoroughly anonymous pictures of a well-known place, inviting comment: 'Where is it?' As only the last picture contains the necessary clue, the most banal pictures may be used in this way to create suspense.

(4) Series of pictures, say five, of which one is the 'odd man out'. Five street scenes, for instance, four taken in England, one in Spain. After going through the pictures in the normal way, the teacher says that one is an 'odd man out'. Which one? The students speculate, then the teacher goes through the series again. Here the possibilities for 'ambiguity' are great; there may be a very subtle difference between the 'odd man out' and the others.

One can go one better by showing five pictures which have nothing in common and asking the students to find the outsider; as there is *no* 'odd man out' a very lively discussion will follow.

It must be borne in mind that the teacher will not be able to go on indefinitely using pictures, because sooner or later the student will get bored, blasé, and knowing—however stimulating the pictures may be in themselves. But by the time he reaches this stage he should have become more capable of self-expression, more critical and observant (and not only in language work), and more aware that the language he is learning is to be used for thinking with.

One feels that any teaching method which can claim to produce these results ought not to be neglected.

FOR THE YOUNG TEACHER—1

'What Fun!'

GEOFFREY BARNARD

Principal, St Katharine's College, Liverpool

ARE YOU THE KIND of teacher whose children groan or sigh when the bell rings, because they *don't* want their lesson to stop? 'What fun' they say as they leave the room. 'We had a marvellous lesson today' they tell their mothers and fathers. 'Our teacher's terrific' they tell their friends. Or are you the sort of teacher who says to the class 'Now I'm going to read you a funny poem'—and does so in a voice of gloom—like a man announcing the death of a close friend. Or the kind of teacher who kills a child's enthusiasm and interest by saying in reply to a pupil's honest comment ('I don't like that story, miss, I think it's stupid'): 'If you talk like that, Alice, I'll put you outside the classroom door'. Ah, well! It takes all sorts of teachers to make a world, I suppose. But I like my children to have fun—perhaps because I remember so well my Great-Aunt Edith who believed that 'children should be seen and not heard' and was never tired of telling me so.

What then *is* fun in a lesson—fun for children in a classroom? Perhaps I'd better start by saying pretty firmly what it's *not*! It is not chaos. It is not the teacher clapping hands for silence with no result. It is not children jumping out of their places without purpose or reason. It is not children talking to each other at the tops of their voices in competition with the teacher. All this would show a teacher who has no control and no discipline. Above all,

this kind of thing would reflect a lack of personal discipline in the mind of the teacher.

Fun, then, starts in the mind of the teacher, long before he gets anywhere near his school, let alone his particular classroom. It starts with a feeling and belief that teaching children is one of the jolliest things anybody can do. Hard work, heartbreaking, exhausting, exasperating—yes. But worth while and exciting. The good teacher is the one who keeps his mind open to new ideas and new impressions. He is one who seizes on the realities of the world around him *today* and incorporates them in the lesson of *tomorrow*. He is one who comes fresh to even routine stuff—tables in Arithmetic—verbs in Languages—dates in History—dull old stuff, but given a new look by the alive, alert teacher. He is one who prepares carefully and doesn't merely turn up the stuff of his training college notes of twenty years ago—or two years ago. The first step towards fun in the classroom, then, is 'mental preparedness'—what's in the mind of the teacher. Next there is his 'physical' organization or preparation.

Organization is so important if a lesson is to be fun—if it is to go with a swing. Organization means having at hand the right books and the right number of them—the right tools for the job—pens, pencils, paper—the right apparatus for *this* lesson, not old junk covered with the dust of ages or 'knocked up' to satisfy a training college examiner without any specific group of children or lesson for *them* in mind.

Now comes the all-important matter of the teaching manner. He should be alert and dynamic in voice and gesture. He should not have the desk as a perpetual barrier between himself and his children. He should stand for his teaching and *not* lounge or sprawl in a chair. And finally, and of supreme importance, his voice should have variety in pitch, speed, and volume. After all, the voice of the teacher is his supreme teaching aid. With it he teaches the subtleties of 'grammar' that differentiate in English between *this* and *these* at the elementary level or the subtleties of 'mood' in poetry, prose, and drama.

And so the teacher who is resolved that his lessons shall be fun reads and studies and listens daily and keeps himself 'educated'. So he goes through his lesson in advance and checks that all his 'stores' are ready. Finally, he makes every effort to train his voice to be the servant of his will. The voice reflects the man and his mood. A man in his life, says Shakespeare, plays many parts. The teacher plays even more than many parts and his voice must be in tune with *all* the players and the play.

Given all this, the child has fun and the lesson is enjoyed. Teaching that is joyless and without fun lacks total effectiveness and it is certain that the teacher is only partly living!

FOR THE YOUNG TEACHER—2

Blackboard Work for Presenting Tense Usages; Oral and Written Work

A. S. HORNBY

ENGLISH TENSE USAGES are often taught by giving comparisons and contrasts with the tense usages of the mother tongue. This may be helpful at a late stage, but it is not the best procedure during the earlier stages. What the learner needs is the formation of the right associations through situation.

Blackboard work is helpful. It can be used first for demonstration and later for oral sequences in which pupils participate.

The following sequence illustrates the possibilities. The teacher states, step by step, what he is going to do, what he is doing, what he has done, and finally what he did. The tenses used are *going to* (for future of intention), present progressive, present perfect, and simple past. Statements are followed by questions, first answered by the teacher himself, and then put to pupils.

I'm going to draw a clock. What am I going to do? I'm going to draw a clock. What am I going to do, Tom? (You're going to draw a clock.) First I'm going to draw the face of the clock. Is the face of the clock round or square, Harry? (It's round.) Now I'm drawing the face of the clock. What am I doing now? I'm drawing the face of the clock. What am I doing, George?¹ (You're drawing the face of the clock.)

I've drawn the face of the clock. Here it is.² What have I just done? I've drawn the face of the clock. What have I just done, Mary? (You've drawn the face of the clock.)

Now I'm going to write the figure 12 on the face. Is the figure 12 at the top or the bottom, George? (It's at the top.) I've just written the figure 12. Where have I written the figure 12? Now I'm going to write the figure 6. Where's the figure 6—at the top or the bottom?

Note that for the figures 12 and 6 (and later for 3 and 9) you do not ask the question 'What am I doing now?' There is no time for question and answer while figures are being written. You put questions only with the present perfect.

The presentation continues with the drawing of the long (or minute) hand and the short (or hour) hand, each stage with the

¹These questions are asked, of course, while the action of drawing (in slow motion) is in progress.

²This statement may be made with the chalk still on the board, as the circle is completed.

appropriate statements and questions, and any incidental questions that fit the situation. You may ask, for example, 'Which is longer, the hour hand or the minute hand?' 'Is the minute hand pointing to the figure 9 or the figure 3?' And, finally, the question 'What's the time?'

Statements with past tense follow:

What did I draw first. I drew the face of the clock. Which did I write first, the figure 12 or the figure 6? Where did I write the figure 6? Did I write the figure 3 on the left or on the right?

Pupils may then repeat the demonstration. A pupil comes to the board, makes statements, and asks questions which are answered by his classmates. Another pupil may make a drawing of an animal, drawing first the body, and then the head, legs, and tail. The sequence may then be put into writing, with the past tense:

I drew a clock.¹ First I drew the clock face. Then I wrote the figure 12 at the top of the clock face. Then I wrote the figure 6 at . . .

This is elementary. At a later stage blackboard work may be used for more complex sequences, in which a series of drawings is used. These illustrate an activity. This must be chosen with care so that the vocabulary items are either already familiar or are such that they offer little difficulty. And unless you are clever at drawing, the activity should be one that can be illustrated simply, with a minimum of detail.

One sequence might show (1) a boy asleep in bed, (2) awake and sitting on the side of his bed, (3) washing, or cleaning his teeth, in the bathroom, (4) putting on his coat, (5) putting on his shoes, and (6) going downstairs. This may be used for oral presentation with statements, questions, and answers in the tenses used for the clock. It is also useful for practice with the adverbs *yet*, *already*, and *still*. It can be used for the simple present. Here are specimens of oral work.

Is this boy awake yet or is he still asleep? He's still in bed, isn't he? Look at the second picture. Is he still asleep or is he awake now? Where's he sitting? He's sitting on the side of the bed, isn't he?

(Note that you are able to use both *in bed* and *on the side of the bed*, an important point of article usage.)

Has the boy been to the bathroom yet? Where is he in the third picture? What's he doing? Has he put his coat on yet or is he still in his pyjamas? What's he putting on in the fifth picture? What has he already put on? (He's already put his coat on.)

These are specimen questions only. Dozens more are possible. When they have been answered, questions may be put using the

¹Or a horse, a house, etc.

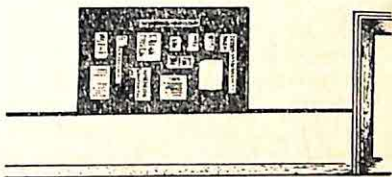
simple present. These need not be about the boy in the drawings. They may be asked about what pupils do.

What time do you get up? What do you do first when you get up? Which do you put on first, your coat or your shoes? *etc.*

For written work, pupils may be asked to write a sequence of sentences using the first person pronoun 'I' as the subject, and then the same sequence using *Tom* (or any other name) as the subject (for practice on the *s* of the third person singular). They may be asked to write these again using the past tense with 'yesterday', or the future tense with 'tomorrow' (using *shall* and *will*).

Other sequences can be used: a boy getting on a bicycle (new vocabulary items, perhaps, such as saddle, handlebar, and pedal), a girl making tea (filling the kettle, boiling the water on the stove, putting leaves into the teapot, *etc.*). These require more difficult drawings. Perhaps you can persuade a skilled colleague (the arts teacher?) to provide such drawings on large sheets to be displayed on the classroom wall.

Newsboard



1. The eighth European Educational Materials Fair will be held in Basle from 24 to 28 June 1966. Information is obtainable from the Exhibition Office, 8th Didacta, 4000 Basel/21, Switzerland.

2. We are grateful to Miss Viola Huggins, of the B.B.C.'s 'English by Radio and Television', for the following note:

This winter, television viewers in Denmark, Finland, France, the German Federal Republic, Holland, Iran, Norway, and other countries have been watching the B.B.C.'s English by Television series, 'Walter and Connie Reporting'.

The series was prepared with the linguistic advice of W. Stannard

Allen, and made in collaboration by the B.B.C. and the British Council. It consists of thirty-nine television lessons for intermediate students, and features, like the first (elementary) English by Television series, the young married couple, Walter and Connie. Walter now has a permanent job as a newspaper reporter, and they have a baby son, Gordon.

'Walter and Connie Reporting' is available with explanations in the viewer's own language, and also with a commentary in English, designed for use in Africa and other multi-lingual countries. The series, which can be taken as a sequel to the elementary one, is intended for showing to a non-captive audience at main television viewing times.

The pattern of the lesson: Each lesson of fourteen minutes is divided into five and a half minutes of direct teaching and eight and a half minutes of story, in which the dialogue illustrates the teaching points of the lesson. The direct teaching is done in two sequences, and, as in the first series of elementary lessons, animated cartoons with captions are used to clarify the linguistic points. An unseen teacher gives explanations, and as he draws attention to a particular word or structure, a white border appears round the word on the screen.

The animated drawings are used as far as possible to demonstrate structures within situations, and complicated grammatical terminology is kept to a minimum. This has been felt particularly necessary in the case of the all-English version, designed for use in Africa, and all the commentary in this version, including the opening scene-setting presentation of the lesson, is in a slightly simplified vocabulary. In the vernacular commentaries, it was found possible to use more explicit terminology and direct comparison with the viewer's own language.

The viewer participation exercise: After the second teaching sequence, Walter and Connie adopt the role of teachers, and invite the viewers to answer questions or complete sentences themselves. They appear before a plain screen, and speak directly to the students. Simple 'props' needed to clarify the point for the viewer are used, but there is no

film set as such; they are, as it were, in 'limbo'. Captions which appear underneath the figures of Walter and Connie on the screen give help with the formation of responses.

Immediately after the exercise follows the 'tune of the day' section, which utilizes the dynamic resources of television to help the student practise some of the more common intonation tunes in English. As Walter and Connie speak as 'voices off', a moving line on the screen traces their intonation, and the viewer is invited to repeat what they say, following the moving line. Each group of 'tune of the day' sentences or phrases follows one typical pattern, of which examples are found in the plot sequences of the film.

Textbooks and records: The textbooks are published in three parts of thirteen lessons, and contain additional teaching notes, written exercises with a key, and a full transcript of the film dialogue. They are illustrated with line drawings and photographs, which exemplify teaching points from the lesson. Long-playing gramophone records are also available, containing specially-recorded extracts from the dialogue, followed by practice sentences which include those from the film 'tune of the day'.

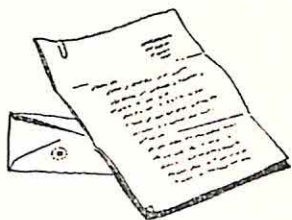
The language versions of the film already prepared are: Arabic, English, French, German, and Spanish for Latin America. There is also a version with spaces left on the soundtrack for the commentary, suitable for those countries who wish to add their own translations on the spot.

Errata. See p. 88 of Vol. XX, No. 1. The last paragraph of the review of *Everyman's English Pronouncing Dictionary* should read:

It may perhaps be mentioned in conclusion that Professor Jones is now relinquishing his formal editorship of the *English Pronouncing Dictionary* and the future editorship will be in the competent hands of Mr A. C. Gimson.

Readers will notice that this issue contains the ninth article in the series 'English in the Commonwealth'. The last article in the series, in Vol. XIX, No. 2, was the *eighth*, and not the seventh, as printed.

Readers' Letters



1. Mr J. Windsor Lewis writes from the British Institute, Oslo: In the 'Question Box' of *E.L.T.*, XIV, 3, April 1960, p. 142, a reader is told that it was 'not possible to say for certain' whether the difference in spelling between *forty* and *fourteen* reflected a difference in pronunciation of older English or not. But surely there is no doubt that such a distinction existed in the speech of those who formulated such spellings, because it survives in the speech of millions today in America and the British Isles. It is the type of pronunciation referred to in footnote 36 to paragraph 308 of Daniel Jones's *Outline of English Phonetics*.

[Dr Wood writes: The facts stated by Mr J. Windsor Lewis suggest that in former times there probably was a difference of pronunciation between the words in question, which, in R.P. at least, has now disappeared, but I do not think that we can say *for certain* that this accounts for the difference of spelling. In my reply to the original question I suggested that it *might* do, and Mr Lewis's observations seem to strengthen that *might*, but I do not think that they make it into a certainty.]

2. Mr S. F. Whitaker writes from the Department of Education, University College, Bangor: In his letter about inflected-noun modifiers, Mr Ham has recognized one of the answers to his complaint about what appears to him anomalous and undesirable: the use of the plural, e.g. *Appointments Board*, as against *Appointment Board*. Titles like *Post Office Savings Bank* and *Public Works Department* have been 'in the language too long to be revised'. That is to say, the title or

designation is compounded of elements (*Savings, Works*) which have a previous existence in their own right and with their particular sense, which is, of course, distinct from the singular (*Saving, Work*). *Post Office Saving Bank* would suggest a kind of bank that saves, like a 'saving clause', whereas the institution is a bank *for savings*—small sums of money unspent and put aside.

In the sample of titles which follow, the plural nouns each modifying a following noun will be seen to have a concrete and plural sense, capable of being contrasted with an abstract singular. And it was a concrete plural sense that was required when the title was composed: *Field Studies Council*; *Government Communications Headquarters*; *Public Works Department*—again a concrete plural. *Public Work* would be a very different concept, potentially humorous: something more abstract, labour performed in view of the public, perhaps, as opposed to 'private work'.

Sometimes a singular would have no abstract sense, but an absurdly singular or *unique* sense: *Tropical Products Institute*. At other times the singular form is hardly used, and would suggest an inappropriate adjective: *Plastics Industry*. It is true there may be instances where authorities have consciously and deliberately avoided the plural, for reasons which it would be interesting to know; the examples give: *School Examination Board of Durham*, and *Public Account Committee*. One assumes there is only one examination, or that the board is concerned with the examination of schools, not of pupils; in the second case, that the committee is not concerned with accounts, but with an

account, which happens to be public. The *Patent Office* is a striking example.

The underlying feature is that many words in English can move so freely from the role of noun to that of adjective or verb that ambiguity may easily arise, especially in titles (or headlines), where articles and copulatives like *of* are frequently unwanted. The plural inflexion helps to show that the word is not an adjective, as with *Plastics* or *Savings*, but is modifying the following noun in a different way. Other examples for consideration: *University Grants Committee* (definitely concrete plural); *Commonwealth Relations Office* (less tangible, but necessarily plural); A post recently advertised: *Amateur Athletic Association—National Athletics Coach; Fighting Vehicles Research and Development Establishment* (cf. the more abstract Royal Armament R. & D. Establishment). *Royal Aircraft Establishment* (a plural—the singular would be ludicrous, suggesting an establishment concerned with a solitary plane belonging to Her Majesty, instead of an establishment concerned with aeroplanes, etc., which is royal).

The ambiguity of mutual restriction by successive modifiers, well illustrated here, brings further problems, which may be alleviated by inserting a hyphen: *inflected-noun modifier*. The title is still ambiguous, since the freedom of collocation in English allows also of the interpretation: 'modifier of an inflected noun', instead of what is perhaps best written as 'inflected-noun-modifier'. As with the well-known lady who has cast-off clothing, the hyphen comes to the rescue.

3. Mr H. V. George writes from the University of Wellington, New Zealand: I am challenged (*E.L.T.*, XIX, 4) to 'describe how mimicry and memorization can serve as training for the very complex behaviours involved in learning a language'.

Briefly, it seems that significance for the human brain emerges with

perception of repetition. To produce the significant feature of spoken word, word group, sentence, a learner profits, I think, from direction of this attention, from description of what he should do, but essentially he must attempt to copy what he perceives. I would not know how the significant features of spoken language could be perceived and produced except through the repeated attention required for mimicry, and the mimicry itself.

And memorization (of paradigms). The learner who memorizes *build-built* has not only practised the skill of memorizing, as Prof. Pattison alleges; he has also learnt *built*. Establishment of the form and access to it are indeed different things. Nevertheless, such a student is at least more likely to produce *built* (instead of making up *buildd* by analogy) than if he had not learnt it.

Thanks to rote learning and access practice, countless adults make immediate responses to 8×7 , 9×6 , and so on; a small part of the complex behaviour of mathematics, but still, desirable. Now mathematics-teaching reformers tell us (and I believe them) that ours was not the best way of achieving immediate responses; but those I know do not tell us that our own teachers' *obsolete, ungraded* method only bewildered us, and I feel sure they would make less headway if they did.

This was my objection to statements of the *Mimicry will produce only parrots* kind, and it should not be inferred now that I have 'praised' mimicry and memorization: much mimicry is out of place for learners wanting only a reading knowledge; and it would seem foolish to recommend mimicry where the only models are bad ones. My statement that Berlitz grading might pass for a prototype 'structural syllabus' of the 1950's was not intended for praise, either way; nor is it now condemnation of grading to say that the introduction of a tightly graded course may be a disaster for a school with 80 per cent pupil attendance, that is,

where each step, on which further steps depend, is missed by 8 in a class of 40.

I am sorry to seem to have no 'standards'. The circumstances—and they include all kinds of teaching procedures—in which language learning takes place in the Middle East and in Asia do not conform to any standard either; yet I have to think that knowledge including new knowledge, about language and about learning can be applied usefully in those circumstances. For this to happen, however, appreciation of circumstances, sympathy with several styles of teaching, and respect for the fact of learning, however achieved, are indispensable.

[Prof. Pattison replies: Mr George seems to have curious notions about

what constitutes command of a language and therefore about what has to be learned in learning a language. I have no wish to prolong controversy with him and will only make three points quite summarily:

(1) Mimicry and memorization are valuable only as parts of a more complex process. It is not forms and structures that have to be learned, but the use of forms and structures meaningfully in contexts.

(2) Grading does not involve dealing with each item only once at a fixed point in a course of teaching.

(3) Any method of teaching is valid if, and only if, it promotes effective learning of what has to be acquired.]

(This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.)

Question Box



1. What is the pronunciation of *flaccid*? All the dictionaries I could lay my hands on give 'flaksid, but several British university trained biologists I asked all said 'flasid.

ANSWER. The only way to find out how widely used alternative pronunciations of a word are is to ask people what they say. I have just circularized 190 university workers in medicine and the sciences and so far have received 127 replies, which break down as follows:

Medicine: 'flaksid 25 'flasid 9

Sciences: 'flaksid 23 'flasid 4
'flakid 3

Totals: 'flaksid 48 'flasid 73 'flakid 3

The remaining three each admitted to varying between 'flaksid and 'flasid. It thus appears safe to conclude that in medicine the pronunciation 'flaksid

still preponderates (with about three out of four speakers), but among scientists 'flasid is used by about three out of four speakers. Future editions of Daniel Jones's Pronouncing Dictionary may care to take note of these findings, though it must be pointed out that probably only a minority of those circularized are RP speakers. However, variations between 'flaksid and 'flasid, etc., surely do not correlate with different types of English.

The word *flaccid* is not, of course, used exclusively as a scientific term, being used also metaphorically by literary critics, etc., to refer, for example, to a characteristic of a writer's style. I have not circularized any literary people, but would expect a still higher proportion of them to say 'flasid.

[P.A.D.M.]

2. What is the pronunciation of 'the Aussies'?

ANSWER. This is, of course, a popular abbreviation for 'the Australians' and is generally used with reference to an Australian cricket team. Being a popular usage, it is widely used by speakers of all varieties of English, and without regard to any theoretical 'correctness' of pronunciation. So it is that the pronunciation 'osiz, 'o:siz, 'oziz can all be heard, and it is hardly possible to make a statement as to the RP pronunciation of the word, since RP speakers who use it are using it popularly, like everyone else, and are thus influenced by popular usage, i.e. by non-RP pronunciations they have heard. It can be argued that 'osiz (or 'o:siz) is more 'correct', on the grounds that *Australian* has a voiceless s, but popular usage might well favour 'oziz for two reasons: firstly, this may be felt to be more like a proper name, since *Ossie* (abbreviated from *Oswald*) is pronounced 'ozi, in spite of the double s (though the spelling *Ozzy* is also found)—but, of course, 'ozwæld has z. Secondly, the final voiced z might well encourage voicing of the intervocalic sound, by a kind of assimilation or attraction. It may also be pointed out that pronunciations with s make *Aussies* sound like (popular) pronunciations of the word *horses*, i.e. 'orses 'o:siz and 'osses 'osiz. Now RP speakers would, of course, not 'drop the h' in *horses*, so would be uninfluenced by the consideration that *Aussies* had better sound different from *horses* to avoid possible misunderstanding. Which tempts one to hazard the guess that RP speakers would most likely tend to pronounce *Aussies* with a voiceless medial s, other speakers with voiced medial z.

Here are a few more popular (and derogatory) abbreviations, with their pronunciation and the full form from which each is derived.

Bolshie 'bolʃi (Bolshevik)

Commie 'komi (Communist)

Eytle 'aitai (Italian)

Conshie 'konʃi (conscientious objector)
[P.A.D.M.]

3. Where is the letter S pronounced as z and where in a word does it give its own sound (s)?

ANSWER. One finds oneself tempted, when asked to state 'rules' for the occurrence of certain sounds or to provide tabulations showing their distribution, to urge such questioners rather to forget about rules, and not to seek to memorize rules or even request that rules be provided, but instead to devote their energies to memorizing the actual pronunciation of particular words. Nothing is simpler than to find out how words are pronounced: just consult the pronouncing dictionary that should be at the elbow of every learner of English. On the other hand, it is a great deal harder to formulate clearly and economically 'rules' for the correspondences between the letters of orthography and the sounds in spoken words that correlate with those letters, though it may be found of some interest to attempt to do so, especially in a complicated case such as the pronunciation(s) of the letter S, which is dealt with below. But I am very doubtful of the utility of such an analysis to the average user or would-be user of English, except for someone who happens to want to be in a position to repeat the relevant facts to others—and again I feel inclined to ask: why should a teacher, for instance, want to pass on such facts in such a form? Would it not be more worth his while to concentrate on getting his pupils to pronounce words correctly by imitation or from phonetic notation and then memorize their pronunciation? And, for the rest, to encourage them in the habit of looking up words in a dictionary, for their sounds—as they naturally would do for their meaning?

A full analysis or classification of spellings in terms of sounds could be useful only for statistical/phonological investigation of one kind or

another. The lists of words given below are, of course, not exhaustive, but they effectively illustrate by juxtaposition some of the anomalies and inconsistencies of English spelling.

(i) *S in Initial Position*

Always pronounced s. (But the Scots phrase *Auld lang syne* is traditionally mispronounced 'o:ld 'laŋ 'zain by Englishmen!) If an initial S is heard pronounced as a voiced sound, it is safe to conclude that the speaker is non-native, or is a dialectal speaker from South-West England (e.g. Somerset 'zʌmərzet).

(ii) *S in Final Position*

(a) *Following a stressed vowel in a monosyllable*

s	z
yes	as
this	has
us	was
thus	is
	his

(b) *Following an unstressed vowel in a polysyllable*

basis 'beɪsɪs	bases 'beɪsɪz
Christmas 'krɪsməs	(pl. of <i>basis</i>)
(enorm)-ous	rabies
i'no:məs	'reɪbɪ(z)
(hid)-eɪs 'hɪdʒəs	series 'sɪəri(z)
(var)-i-əʊs 'veəriəs	
(ard)-u-əʊs 'ɑ:dʒuəs	

(c) *Inflected endings*

cats kats	dogs dogz
makes meɪks	plays pleɪz
(voiceless consonant precedes)	places 'pleɪsɪz
	(voiced sound precedes)

(iii) *-SE in Final Position*

(a) *When preceded by vowel letters (i.e. A E I O U Y)*

Pronounced z in most words, but s in the following (the words are arranged in order of reverse alphabetical spellings):

-ASE	-EASE
base beɪs	cease si:z
case keɪs	decease di'si:z
chase tʃeɪs	lease li:z
-----	release ri'li:z

purchase 'pɜ:tʃəs
carcase 'kɑ:kəs

-ESE

obese ou'bi:z

diocese 'daɪəsɪs

-ISE

precise pri'saɪs
concise kən'saɪs

paradise 'pærədaɪs

premise 'premɪs

promise 'prɒmɪs

practise 'præktɪs

-OSE

verbose vɜ:'bɔ:z

jocose dʒə'kɔ:z

dose dɔ:z

adj. close kləʊz

morose mə'ru:z

varicose 'væri'kɔ:z

otiose 'ɒʃi:z

cellulose 'seljələʊz

lachrymose

'lækriməs

adipose 'adɪpəs

purpose 'pɜ:pəs

comatose

'kəʊmətəs

crease kri:z

v. increase

ɪŋ'kri:z

n. grease gri:z

n. increase

'ɪŋkri:z

-EESE

geese gi:z

-OISE

porpoise 'pɔ:pəs

tortoise 'tɔ:təs

-OOSE

goose gu:z

loose lu:z

moose mu:z

noose nu:z

-OUSE

douse daʊz

n. house haʊz

mouse maʊz

grouse graʊz

souse saʊz

-USE

use ju:z

abuse ə'bju:z

excuse ɪks'kju:z

adj. diffuse

di'fju:z

profuse prə'fju:z

recluse ri'klu:z

abstruse

əb'stru:z

obtuse əb'tju:z

n. refuse 'refju:z

(b) *When preceded by consonant letters*

Pronounced s in most words, but z in the following:

cleanse klenz (with consonant sound preceding)

parse pa:z

browse braʊz

drowse draʊz

(c) *Words with alternative pronunciations*

The following words (and a few others) have pronunciations with both s and z:

v. grease gri:s/gri:z
 treatise 'tri:tis/'tri:tiz
 glucose 'glu:kous/'glu:kouz
 grandiose 'grandious/'grandiuz
 hypotenuse hai'potinjuz/hai'potinjuz

(iv) S in Medial Position

It can only be stated that S is pronounced s in some words and z in others. The following sets of juxtaposed words will bring home the fact that it is simply not possible to make useful general statements about the distribution of s and z medially on the basis of spellings:

s	z
absurd əb'sə:d	absolve əb'zolv
desultory 'deslt[ə]ri	deserve di'zə:v
dissoluble	dissolve di'zolv
di'soljubl	accusation
conversation	'akju:z]zei fən
'kɒnvə'sei fən	venison 'ven[i]zn
comparison	pansy 'panzi
kəm'parisn	complaisance
expansive iks'pansiv	kəm'pleizns
nuisance 'nju:sn	resurrect
resuscitate	'rezə'rekt
ri'sasiteit	result ri'zʌlt
transition tran'siʒn	transition
	tran'ziʒn

s/z
 absorb əb'so:b/əb'zo:b
 disorder dis'o:də/di'zo:də
 disarm dis'a:m/di'za:m
 jettison 'dʒetisn/'dʒetizn
 resource ri'so:s/ri'zo:s
 research ri'sə:tʃ/ri'zə:tʃ
 cosmetic kos'metik/koz'metik

[P.A.D.M.]

4. An advertisement in a British newspaper includes the sentence: *Every day you're buying and using steel.* Are the two verbs in the correct tense? According to a well-known textbook, the simple present tense is used for habitual permanent, or repeated actions, and not the present continuous tense.

ANSWER. The tenses are quite correct, though many English speakers might well have used the simple present tense here. The fact is that this is an advertisement, and no doubt the copywriter used the present continuous tense deliberately.

Why? For emphasis, of course, but emphasis of a special kind.

English is somewhat unusual in having two tenses which are called 'present'. It is sometimes possible to use both these tenses in describing the same kind of event, for example:

- (a) (i) *John goes to school every day.*
 (ii) *John is going to school every day.*
 (b) (i) *John shoots at goal.*
 (ii) *John is shooting at goal.*

This is often puzzling to a foreign student of English. The fact is that each tense sheds a different light on the same event, or it may be that a slightly different context will use one tense rather than the other. For example:

- (a) (i) *How old is John now?*
He's five—he goes to school every day.

(John has reached school age and goes to school every day according to law. This is treated as a simple event.)

- (ii) *I hear John's been ill—is he better?*

Oh, yes, he's going to school every day.

(John has recovered from his illness, and is going to school every day. The 'going to school' is treated as a continuity, something going on day after day, with no more absences.)

In (b) (i) John's kick is treated as a simple event. In (b) (ii) it is treated as something occupying a time-duration, a continuity. As a matter of fact, in radio commentaries on football matches, the simple present tense is more frequently used because football is a fast game and events follow one another rapidly, while a similar commentary on a boat race uses the present continuous tense more frequently, presumably because the action is much slower.

To return to the advertisement, the copy-writer chooses, no doubt deliberately, and for emphasis, to treat the 'buying' and 'using' as events which 'go on', and which occupy a time-duration, and we must

allow him to handle his own language according to the needs of his profession.

The textbook writer, on the other hand, is *teaching* the language and to teach it he must simplify. It would not help those who use his book if he gave them a complete description of the ways in which the English present tenses are used. He is accordingly justified in saying to learners that the simple present tense is used for habitual, permanent, or repeated actions, and most foreign users of English will do well to follow this advice until they attain a much fuller knowledge of the language.

The matters dealt with in this answer are of considerable complexity, and there is more to be said about 'simple' and 'continuous' tenses in the English verb. Readers are referred to *E.L.T.*, XIII, 2, 'Concerning the Present Tense' (R. A. Close), and to Close's *English as a Foreign Language, Grammar and Syntax*, published by George Allen & Unwin. [A.V.P.E.]

5. I have come across the following sentence from an essay by an English writer of the earlier part of this century:

'The nations of Europe, now so divided, still have more in common than those things by which they differ, and it is certain that when they have at last revealed to them their common origin, they will return to it.'

The questions I should like to ask are as follows: (i) Isn't this sentence expressed rather carelessly? I presume that what the writer wishes to say is that the things which the nations of Europe have in common are more numerous than are those by which they differ. Then why does he not say so instead of wrapping his meaning up in this rather incomprehensible manner? (ii) Presumably 'they' and 'their', in the temporal clause 'when they have at last revealed to them their common origin', refer to the nations of Europe, in which case the clause would mean the same as 'when they

(the nations of Europe) have their common origin at last revealed to them'. If you accept this interpretation, would you consider the construction 'to have + particle + object', instead of 'to have + object + participle' grammatically correct? 'I have my hair cut' surely means something different from 'I have cut my hair'.

ANSWER. (i) Your interpretation of the writer's meaning is correct. I agree that the sentence is badly expressed, and not easy to understand, though why the writer chose to adopt this style instead of saying simply and plainly what he meant, only he could say. My own explanation would be that it was just carelessness, and perhaps a love of pomposity, on his part. It is certainly not a style to copy.

(ii) You are also correct in your interpretation of the clause 'when they . . . common origin'. There is nothing grammatically incorrect about the inversion of the normal order of object + participle after 'to have' in clauses of this kind. We may say, for instance, 'Every student had provided for him a notebook and writing materials.' The inversion usually takes place when the emphasis is on the idea expressed by the participle rather than that expressed by the object. It is true that when one comes across it in print it may sometimes strike one as awkward; but a writer often tends to write down what he would say if he were speaking the sentence, and in speech the awkwardness is removed, and the meaning made quite clear, by such things as pauses, stress, intonation, etc., which cannot be conveyed in writing.

As to 'I have my hair cut' and 'I have cut my hair', you are, of course, quite right in saying that the two do not mean the same. But this case is not parallel with the one we are discussing; and for two reasons: (i) Where inversion of the normal order is possible, the participle is followed by either a prepositional phrase (as in the example you quote

and in the further one that I have given), or an indirect object ('Every member had given him a copy of the rules'); (ii) In 'I have my hair cut' *have* is used subjectively. That is to say, it expresses the idea of something that is initiated by the subject, and means something like 'caused' or 'took steps to get'. In the type of sentence with which your query is concerned, however, *have* is used objectively, in that it expresses the idea of something being suffered, experienced by, or done to, the subject. The difference will be seen in the two sentences 'He had his window broken by a stone' (objective), and 'He had his window mended' (subjective).

[F.T.W.]

6. A correspondent in India asks whether the following changes from active to passive are correct and acceptable:

- i. (a) *He will be writing a letter.*
(b) *A letter will be being written by him.*
- ii. (a) *He has been writing this book for two months.*
(b) *This book has been being written by him for two months.*
- iii. (a) *He had been writing this book for two months.*
(b) *This book had been being written by him for two months.*
- iv. (a) *He will have been writing this book for two months.*
(b) *This book will have been being written for two months.*
- v. (a) *All next week the workmen will be painting the house.*
(b) *All next week our house will be being painted by the workmen.*

ANSWER. It is impossible to answer your question about these examples, since you do not provide any context for them. The use of the passive, like all English usage, depends entirely on the context of what is spoken or written. A newspaper item might be: 'The Secretary of State will be preparing a Note which he will

hand to the Blue Land ambassador'. The newspaper writer may wish to write this in the passive for one of a number of reasons (see below). If so, he will very probably write: 'A Note will be prepared by the Secretary of State . . .'. The writer here avoids *be being* because this combination is repugnant to English ears. This is not to say that *be being* is never used; it might be, if the writer wishes for some reason to preserve the sense of continuity conveyed by *being*.

[A.V.P.E.]

7. The same correspondent quotes as follows from an English grammar: 'Each active tense in English has a passive equivalent'. He asks: Does this mean that all the twelve have their passive equivalents?

ANSWER. To say that every active form of the English verb has a passive equivalent is to make a highly theoretical, and indeed misleading, statement. Once again, everything depends upon the circumstances or context of what is said. The passive is used in the following circumstances:

i. *Two ounces of water are poured into a beaker and heated over a flame.* This is a description of a process. We are interested in the water and not in the person who performs the experiment. The passive is commonly used in this way in scientific textbooks and elsewhere.

ii. *A circular will be addressed to local education authorities on this matter.*

This is a variation of i. The circular is what matters, not the person who sends it. Furthermore, in Britain it is sometimes a convention for civil servants to remain anonymous.

iii. *A situation of this kind may be complicated even further by a conflict between a strong desire to learn the language . . . and a strong aversion to the oral work associated with it . . .* (Wilga M. Rivers, *The Psychologist and the Foreign Language Teacher*, University of Chicago Press, 1964, p. 94).

Here the passive is simply a device for emphasizing one element in the discussion, i.e. *a situation of this kind*, by putting it at the beginning of the sentence. The passive also avoids the difficulty of starting with *a conflict* followed by the two rather long phrases. This use of the passive, then, may be described as 'emphatic' or 'stylistic'.

The above examples, with their possible variations, represent the normal ways of using the passive in English. Once again notice that everything depends on the context, and that an active verb form cannot automatically be transformed to the passive without regard to the context.

[A.V.P.E.]

8. A reader in Holland asks what formula he should use when he is a guest in a house for the first time and wishes to indicate to his hostess that he needs to use the lavatory. Should he, for example, ask to be shown 'the geography of the house'?

ANSWER. I think it may be useful to extend the range of this question and treat the matter in some detail for the sake of readers who have not yet visited Britain. Let us first mention other words that mean 'lavatory'.

In public places (for example, streets and railway stations) public lavatories are indicated by notices bearing one of the following expressions: *Public Convenience(s)*, *Conveniences*, *Lavatory*, *Toilet(s)*, *W.C.*, and since, in Britain, lavatory facilities are segregated according to sex, *Gentlemen* (which may be abbreviated to *Gents.*), *Men*, *Ladies*, *Women*. If you have to inquire of a stranger where the lavatory is, the most common formulae are: 'Excuse me, can you tell me where the lavatory is?', or 'Excuse me, do you know if there's a lavatory near here?'. The word 'toilet' is becoming more frequently used—although many people dislike the term—and may be substituted for 'lavatory' in the expressions given above. The terms 'lavatory' and 'toilet' are the preferred ones in making an inquiry.

In hotels and restaurants the notices are usually: *Lavatory*, *Toilet*, *Gentlemen*, *Ladies*, *Cloakrooms*, *Gentlemen's Cloakroom*, *Ladies' Cloakroom*. You may also see *W.C.* and *Powder Room*—the latter is for women only. The term *Cloakroom* (in the singular) is usually used in hotels, restaurants, and railway stations to designate the place where outer clothing, hats, umbrellas, or luggage can be left temporarily. *Cloakrooms* (in the plural) may mean the same, but more frequently means 'lavatories'. When inquiring of a hotel servant you should say: 'Could you tell me where the lavatory is, please?' It is not necessary to preface your question with the words 'Excuse me'.

In a private house which you are visiting for the first time and where there may be an atmosphere of formality, the best thing to do is to go to your host or hostess when he or she is alone and say simply: 'I wonder if you would tell me where the lavatory is'; this sounds rather more polite than asking the direct question: 'Would you tell me where the lavatory is?' You *could* say: 'Excuse me, can you tell me where the lavatory is?', but this sounds more appropriate to a child than to an adult. You should *not* use the term 'convenience' or 'W.C.', and most people would not use any phrase which suggests that permission is being sought, such as 'May I go to the lavatory' or 'Can I use your lavatory?'

You may sometimes hear the expression *cloakroom* (in the singular) or *bathroom* used in a private house; these have a somewhat old-fashioned sound. (Richard Burton, the English actor, has told how, one night, some years ago, when he was playing the main part in 'Hamlet' in a London theatre, there was a knock on the door of his dressing-room during an interval between acts. He opened the door to find a distinguished member of the audience facing him. 'My Lord Hamlet,' said Sir Winston Churchill, 'may I use your bathroom?')

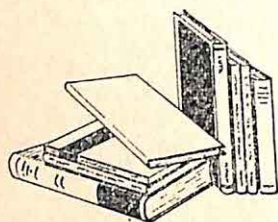
You will hear some people, particularly women, say to their hostess 'I'd like to wash my hands', or 'I wonder if I could wash my hands', or even 'May I wash my hands?'; or the hostess may ask 'Would you like to wash your hands?' If these phrases are used on arrival they may be meant to be understood literally as a request or invitation to remove travel stains, and in such circumstances a visit to the lavatory is a natural accompaniment to the action of washing. But at any time after arrival such phrases almost always indicate a visit to the lavatory alone; many people regard such expressions as being unnecessarily delicate. If, however, you *are* invited to 'wash your hands', you could reply, simply, 'Yes, thank you', or 'Yes, thank you, I would'. A similar expression you may hear is 'Would

you like to go upstairs?'; this, again, is an invitation to be shown the lavatory, which, in many English houses, is on an upper floor. You would do well not to use these expressions yourself; and in no circumstances should you ask to be shown 'the geography of the house'.

A thoughtful host or hostess will, on your arrival, save possible later embarrassment by saying 'I'll show you where you can put your hat and coat' and then adding a phrase such as 'The lavatory is through that door'.

Once you know where the lavatory is, either by direct observation or by having been told, there is no need to mention to your host or hostess your desire to use it. You should merely leave the group unobtrusively or, at most, say 'Excuse me a minute' to the person to whom you have just been talking.

[C. G. Simpson]



Reviews

L'INSEGNAMENTO DELLA LINGUA INGLESE. Sergio Baldi and Edgardo Mercanti. *Le Monnier* (Collana Insegnare), Firenze. 1964. vii + 190 pp. 1900 lire.

The teaching of English in most Italian schools and universities has so far remained faithful to the 'classical method'. Formal grammar has been taught, the written language approached through translation, composition, and dictation. Relatively little attention has been paid to recent work on descriptive and structural linguistics, and the importance of an oral approach to the early phases of language teaching has not

been widely accepted. Set against this background, the book under review almost takes on the nature of a polemic, though the authors have stated their case for modernizing syllabus and methods with reasonableness and moderation.

The first section of the book is by the Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Florence, and deals with work at the university level. It begins with a careful analysis of present-day university English courses, both in the faculty of letters and in the so-called faculty of *magistero*, which despite its name has little direct concern with

education. This analysis is followed by a critical assessment of these courses as a preparation for intending teachers of English. Professor Baldi comes to the 'sad conclusion that of the various tasks which a university should undertake in training good teachers of English, few are carried out at all, and even fewer are effectively done'. The only solution, he says, is to go back to first principles, to decide afresh what the curriculum should contain, how the material should be taught, how the classes should be organized, and what proportion of the time-table English should occupy, both at the university and (perhaps even more importantly) in the schools.

The second part of the book, by Edgardo Mercanti, tackles all these problems systematically. After a quick look at the history of modern language teaching in Italian schools, he goes to the roots of the problem by examining the nature of language itself. This leads him to consider the objects of language-teaching, and having decided firmly that the main objective must be for the students to be able to use English as an effective means of communication, he goes on to tackle the choice and grading of the material to be taught. There follow chapters on phonetics, on the teaching of structural patterns, on reading, composition, translation, and audio-visual aids. The final two chapters deal with examinations and with the administrative problems (size of classes, grading of students, reform of teacher-training) which need to be solved if the proposed reforms are to be carried out.

The up-to-date teacher of English as a second or foreign language will find little in this book that is new to him; indeed, he may feel that at some points the issues have been oversimplified. The hypercritical reader could question the correctness of one or two of the examples of English used by the authors to illustrate their points. It is certainly odd that the use of tape-recorders or language laboratories is hardly mentioned.

But these are all very minor points when one considers the usefulness of the book in Italy today. In their select bibliography the authors list 21 modern works on the phonetics of English and nearly 40 on linguistics and methodology; in their notes they make frequent reference to these works and to articles published in *English Language Teaching* and in *Language Learning* (Michigan). All this reading has been well-digested and the resultant knowledge has been applied to the Italian teaching situation with intelligence and in a persuasive manner. It is to be hoped that it will have a big effect and will lead to a new attitude in the teaching of English in Italy.

CONVERSATION EXERCISES IN EVERYDAY ENGLISH: Book I. (viii+152 pp.) and Tapes A and B. M. F. Jerrom and L. L. Szkutnik. *Longmans*. 1965. 55s. each.

The 'ready-made conversations' provided in this book are brief and natural. They are presented in the form of substitution tables, ingeniously and compactly arranged. The authors claim that if the book is correctly used all members of the class will have 'ample practice in speaking, without hearing incorrect constructions'. No doubt, but the material has a drawback common to many substitution tables—it is to a large extent uncontextualized; that is to say, the pupils must already know what it means, or the practices will be mechanical and a matter of pronunciation alone. The illustrations, though often amusing, give little help here, for they are evidently not meant to do more than make the book more attractive.

For intermediate learners, especially adults, these dialogue 'frames' will, however, be useful, and will save the teacher a lot of work, provided that the meaning of the particular structure and vocabulary practised has previously been acquired. The repeated practice of such dialogues will, as the authors say,

help to bring 'command of the functional grammar of the language'. Such practice should be subordinate to the main work of a language course.

More guidance should have been given on how best to use this material. Too little is said about work in pairs and nothing about group work. This is a pity.

The grammatical points covered are fairly numerous, and in a graded course for use in the school classroom would be spread over several years. For example, the tense-forms include the present continuous and simple, the past continuous and simple, and the present perfect continuous and simple, as well as *would* rather and *had better*.

A book of this kind needs to be supported by tapes, and fortunately two good ones are provided. They carry a top-track recording of many of the dialogues, spoken by two English speakers, a man and a woman. The student is asked to listen to the whole of the dialogue first, and then to listen again and repeat it phrase by phrase. The pauses left for this repetition are just long enough for the phrase to be said twice at the same rate of speaking as on the tape.

Both the tapes and the books will be found very helpful by those numerous learners who have little opportunity of mixing with native English speakers. With their aid, and by dint of regular hard work, they will be able to improve their pronunciation of ordinary everyday conversational English and their fluency in producing and also in understanding it.

RESEARCH AND TECHNIQUES FOR THE BENEFIT OF MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING.

Education in Europe, Section IV—
General—No. 3. Council of Europe,
Strasbourg. 1964. 187 pp. 10s. 6d.

This booklet is the report of an international colloquy and refresher course organized in March 1963 by

the regional branch of the Association of Modern Language Teachers of Strasbourg Academy, at which papers were read by representatives of French research teams, technicians, teachers, and others.

The first section, entitled 'New Research', gives a short account of the work done at the Study and Research Centre of the École Normale Supérieure at Saint-Cloud on vocabulary selection based on word frequency and distribution in spoken French and on the concept of 'availability', available words being defined as 'those always ready for use and coming to mind when needed' but by their concrete nature not liable to occur in a frequency count. Much of the content of this section will already be familiar to English readers acquainted with 'Le Français Fondamental' published in 1954.

The second section, 'New Methods and Techniques', is devoted to the language laboratory, the tape-recorder, and to description and discussion of several audio-visual courses designed for the teaching of French and English. Various types of language laboratory are described, suggestions are made for their use at different stages of the learning process, and the need for fidelity of sound reproduction is stressed. Although, as is pointed out in one paper, the various audio-visual courses dealt with are superficially alike, 'they differ widely as regards their conception and their role within the method'. Some are intended for use in intensive courses with adults, another has been used in an experimental intensive course with young children, and others are designed for the early stages of an ordinary school course. There is considerable divergence of view as to the length of time to be devoted to purely oral instruction and as to the respective place in each teaching unit of dialogue and pattern drills. What is common to all is the conviction that the spoken word is all-important, and that the spoken word must derive from film strip linked with recorded tape. As

one author puts it: 'having chosen to teach primarily the spoken language ... it seemed to us that we could only do so by presenting to the pupils recorded conversations in true-to-life situations'.

There will be many teachers for whom it is by no means obvious that an oral approach to language teaching necessarily presupposes recorded conversations as a basis, and who would indeed find the prerecorded dialogue not an aid but a hindrance, a poor substitute for the dialogue which they can themselves create with their pupils in relation to the classroom situation, the children's own experience, picture material of various kinds, and the situations to be found in written texts. The value of time spent on 'memorizing' and on pattern drills out of context will be questioned by those whose aim throughout is meaningful use of language in relation to specific situations, as will also the assumption that the meaning of any dialogue can be deduced from a picture. Nevertheless the clear indication of thinking about language teaching which is fundamentally opposed to that which inspired the traditional approach by way of formal grammar is to be welcomed.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING. Education in Europe, Section IV—General—No. 1. *Council of Europe*, Strasbourg. 1964. 43 pp.

This pamphlet contains the resolutions of the European Ministers of Education at their second conference in Hamburg in 1961 and at their third conference in Rome in 1962, with a brief account, by Dr D. C. Riddy, Staff Inspector of Modern Languages at the Ministry of Education, London, of three seminars on the teaching of languages, the first held in Paris in 1960, the second in London in 1962, and the third in Stockholm in 1963.

The resolutions stress the importance of modern languages in the

contemporary world, the need for extending their teaching to more and more pupils, for research and exchange of information as to methods and materials, and for teacher-training.

The Paris seminar was concerned with the results of research conducted into the French language by the Centre de Recherche et d'Étude pour la Diffusion du Français (CREDIF) and the methods of teaching evolved, and there were practical demonstrations of two audio-visual courses, *Voix et Images de France*, designed for adult learners, and *Bonjour Line*, intended for use with children between the ages of eight and ten.

The London seminar dealt with recent developments in the use of audio-visual aids, films, television, broadcasting, the problems presented by the teaching of a foreign language to young children, examinations, interchange of teachers, and the content of modern language courses.

At Stockholm the main topic for discussion was the teaching of a modern language to pupils of less than average ability in the age groups 10-13. Since 1962, English has been a subject of the curriculum for all pupils in their fourth grade, i.e. at the age of 10, in Swedish schools. The need for well-planned teaching material, guidance in the use of methods and in choice of material, broadcast lessons, and the use of visual and audio-visual materials were among the topics discussed.

MODERN ENGLISH. Neile Osman. *O.U.P.* 2nd edition. 1964. xvi + 240 pp. 9s. 6d.

First published in Australia in 1959, this book is now re-published in Britain in the *Language and Language Learning* series of Oxford University Press.

It is described as a 'Self-Tutor or Class Text'. The same book can hardly be ideal both for private students and for students working under teachers of average competence.

Competent teachers usually prefer

to demonstrate rather than explain grammar. For the sake, presumably, of the private student, Mr. Osman surrounds his good exercises and reading passages with a fair amount of grammatical explanation. The great difficulty of writing such passages on grammar, especially for the unsophisticated reader with no teacher, is that of giving rules and principles that are easy to understand and yet true. A student living in an English-speaking community, or one who reads fairly widely, is all too likely to read or hear English that shatters many of Mr. Osman's rules. Any native speaker will certainly think of possible utterances in his own idiolect which will do so.

With its exercises and reading passages it is essentially a revision course to be worked through. But the paradigms, the passages on grammar and the very full, and useful, sections on spelling seem more appropriate to a reference book, and may daunt a private student taking the book as it comes.

The grammar teaching and supporting exercises treat the verb thoroughly, building up from the dictionary forms in a way likely to be very helpful to the private student. Contrasts between usages and time factors are well brought out. Prepositions and word order are taught thoroughly. Unfortunately, especially for speakers of all Slav and many oriental languages, there is nothing on nouns and articles.

Open as it is to criticism (any book of this kind is almost bound to be so), *Modern English* has many excellent and original features. The reading passages are pieces of useful and representative English, very cleverly composed to support the main teaching points. Throughout the book, there is constant emphasis upon the use of the language in speech. The guides to pronunciation are clear and simple. The answers to the exercises—an excellent feature this—are given in full, and will be highly useful for revision and further speech practice.

BULLETIN OF THE CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH. Published annually by the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, India. 6s. Vols. 1 and 2, 1961-2. Distributors, Orient Longmans. **REPORT OF VERB FORM FREQUENCY COUNT.** (Monograph of the Central Institute, No. 1.) 3s. 1963. **A VERB-FORM FREQUENCY COUNT: APPLICATION TO COURSE DESIGN.** (Monograph No. 2.) H. V. George. 1963.

Until 1947 English was the medium of secondary and higher education in India, and it is still indispensable for access to the western knowledge needed by the country for its economic and social development. The expansion of education, however, and the attention naturally given to Indian languages since the new independent nation emerged, has led to an alarming fall in standards of English among university students and even among their teachers. It was to deal with this situation that the government of India, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation and the British Council, established the Central Institute of English at Hyderabad in 1958. Similar institutes have also been established in several of the states.

The Central Institute provides courses for secondary school teachers, college lecturers, and the staffs of teacher-training colleges, some priority being given to these last, since they will be able to pass on to teachers in the schools what they have learned at the institute. Research is also carried on by the institute staff, and a bulletin is issued annually to make the results of the research available, as well as to discuss topics of general interest to teachers of English and producers of syllabuses and textbooks.

Some of the articles deal with problems peculiar to India and are of wider interest only as examples of the kind of investigation considered relevant to the improvement of the learning of English where it is an auxiliary rather than a foreign lan-

guage. This applies to the analysis of students' spoken and written English. Attempts to suggest possible standards for Indian English might encourage similar efforts with other kinds of English that function in second-language situations. Syllabuses for university, teacher-training college, and secondary school courses might suggest points here and there, but in general relate only to Indian conditions. For Indian readers much valuable guidance is given on all these matters. Readers in other countries will note the various approaches to problems comparable with their own.

Particularly striking is the large amount of attention to the study of the English language and to making available the results of such study. As Mr Bruton says, 'One of the crying needs of those engaged in the teaching of English as a foreign language is for more information about the language they are teaching.' (Bulletin No. 1, p. 37.) More information is certainly desirable: it always will be; but the present discontents about language teaching are due to inadequacies of teachers, and any new information will prove as ineffective as the knowledge already available—about learning as well as about language—unless it influences actual teaching.

The largest research project undertaken so far by the Central Institute is that reported in the two monographs. It consists of a count of verb forms in a varied selection of contemporary printed English—a sampling of *Chambers's Encyclopedia*, 'three novels, two plays, a travel book, five books of a popular factual nature, two issues of an English newspaper and the conversational section of MacCarthy's *English Conversation Reader*'. (Monograph No. 1, p. 4.) This is a reasonably representative sample of everyday, non-technical English.

Only words containing a verb stem were counted, and these were divided into those with (1) plain stem, (2) *to* + stem, (3) stem + *-ed*, (4) stem + *-ing*.

Finites with the *-s* ending in the third person singular come under (1) with infinitives. (3) includes both past tense (*-ed*) and past participle (*-n*) forms. Separate treatment of phrases containing auxiliaries, which are an important characteristic of the English verb, would have been an advantage. As it is, those with modal auxiliaries are assigned to the 'plain stem' section, as are those with forms of *do*, while *have* and *be* occur in the last two sections.

A mere counting of forms is not very useful for teaching without indications of the contextual functions of the forms. Though the various 'meanings' attributed to each form are subjective and cannot be checked with reference to the contexts of their occurrences, there is no reason to quarrel with them. However, no surprises emerge from the frequencies of either the forms or the uses of them. Anybody who has reflected on the matter at all must have realized that the one-word forms must be the commonest, and must overlap in usage with other forms, which employ auxiliaries to convey various shades of meaning when they are considered important.

For the preparation of teaching material such frequencies must be interpreted with caution. A closed system, such as is found in grammar, is quite different from the open sets which constitute the lexicon of a language. Rarely occurring forms of the verb may not be worth teaching, but once the forms to be taught have been selected, their frequencies are a poor guide to the order of their presentation: the important consideration is how to establish the proper uses of them. The comparative infrequency of the present continuous tense is no argument for postponing its introduction; nor is the argument for postponement strengthened by drawing attention to the obvious fact that 'the *is* (*was*, etc.) stem + *-ing* does not necessarily constitute a unit'. (Monograph No. 2, p. 21.) This is the real reason for teaching it first. The verb *is* must come very early, and

it may be followed by a noun, an adjective, or an adverb. In putting *-ing* forms after it one is primarily teaching the lexical meaning of the verbs: *He is dancing* is not at that stage very different from *He is a dancer* or *He is active*—the nominal and adjectival uses of the *-ing* form are already foreshadowed by the teaching of nouns and adjectives after *is* about the same time. The contrast with other tenses comes only when they are introduced. These *-ing* forms are the natural ones for talking about pictures, which Dr George recommends for teaching the simple present, though he can justify it only on the ground that 'it would not be at all unusual in the slightly formal context of a classroom in England'. (Monograph No. 2, p. 42.) It is rather ironic that, after going to so much trouble to discover ordinary usage, he should have to resort to artificial situations to implement the grading of verb forms based on his frequencies. Information such as that collected in the monographs is useful, but satisfactory programmes for learning cannot be based only on statistical evidence about forms and patterns abstracted from a language.

LINGUISTIC CHANGE IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH.

C. Barber. *Oliver & Boyd*. 1964. ix + 154 pp. 25s.

Dr Charles Barber, who holds the post of Senior Lecturer in the University of Leeds, is now well known as the author of the 'Pan piper' *The Story of Language* which came out in 1964. A Cambridge graduate, he spent nine years teaching in the University of Göteborg, where he became keenly interested in changes, especially structural changes, in current English. The present book had its beginnings in a series of lectures given in Poland and some of these lectures have since been delivered in India and Pakistan. Dr Barber always writes well in a clear and lively style. He has arranged his book in six straightforward

chapters and an epilogue. He deals with linguistic shifts in general, standard English and dialect, movements in pronunciation, growth of vocabulary, changes in meaning, and grammatical (that is to say, morphological and syntactic) modifications. At the end of each chapter he adds exceptionally full and informative 'notes and suggestions for further reading' which contain helpful accounts not only of up-to-date books but also of monographs and articles in periodicals.

Most readers will find chapters IV and VI the most useful of all, since these describe growth of vocabulary and grammatical changes with thoroughness and originality. Few, if any, teachers of English, however well informed, will read these chapters without finding something new. In these days when the great *Third Webster International* of 1960 is still very much under fire; when the *Penguin English Dictionary* of 1965, already a best-seller, is nevertheless severely criticized for its shortcomings; and when, too, we are all awaiting the appearance of that long-promised Second Supplement to the great *Oxford Dictionary* itself, it is salutary to read Dr Barber's shrewd comments on the increasing use of technical terms now made by ordinary people in everyday conversation: 'Because of the importance of some radio-active isotopes for medical purposes, the word *isotope* has become widely known (though perhaps not all the people who use it could explain what it means).' But Dr Barber has not merely recorded new words now in vogue. He has given a useful account of word-creation by means of affixation, compounding, blending, back-formation, and variation in function.

Among the numerous grammatical changes described in chapter VI, the following may here be mentioned: the passing away of *whom* in speech and the choice (in speech though not always in writing) of *Who shall I give it to?* instead of *To whom shall I give it?*; the spread of

more and most (instead of the suffixes -er and -est) to express the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives, even of one-syllable forms like *more plain* and *most keen* for *plainer* and *keenest*; the extension of the 's ending at the expense of the of-phrase, as in *human nature's diversity* instead of *the diversity of human nature*; the loss of distinctions between *shall* and *will*; the increasing use of *get* and *want* as auxiliaries with more functions than one; the adoption of *be going* to stating a colourless future tense; the ellipsis of both auxiliary and pronoun in introducing second-person questions, such as *See those traffic-lights?*, where intonation alone differentiates it from an imperative; the omission of the definite article in such an expression as *the raising of Bank Rate*; and the proliferation of many types of phrasal verb.

Some of these changes undoubtedly arise from American influence, but the author is rightly cautious in attributing them all to United States slang without further comment. He sees American influence as a kind of accelerator, speeding up 'developments that are already taking place in Britain anyway'.

ENGLISH CONVERSATION.
Practice for Students Going to Britain. R. A. Close. *Allen & Unwin*. 1965. 131 pp. 8s. 6d.

Fairly advanced adult students of English who are coming to Britain, or who need for some other reason to be able to take part in real English conversation, should get this useful and interesting little book, which consists of a series of conversations in which the main characters are young men visiting London. There is an introduction giving very good advice on how the book should be used.

The author has evidently gone to considerable trouble to compose these dialogues, which give incidentally a lot of information about everyday life in Britain. They are divided like a play into three acts,

entitled 'Before You Go', 'Take Your Place in the Queue', and 'Make Yourself at Home'; and each act is divided into a number of scenes.

A praiseworthy feature of this type of book is that the phrases and sentences of the dialogue are printed in such a way that the patterns can readily be seen. The essentials of stress and intonation are suggested by means of simple marks. It is a pity there are no gramophone records or tapes, particularly as the author himself advises students first to listen to each scene before studying it. The omission should be rectified.

Study of the text is supported by accurate notes on many of the patterns and fixed expressions—including conventional doublets, similes, and metaphors, as well as 'attention signals and flourishes'—which it contains. There are also notes on pronunciation at the end of each scene. It is not clear why the author has rejected the widely known I.P.A. system of representing sounds in favour of a less familiar system of numerals.

The author rightly claims that many visitors to Britain will find themselves in the situations on which the dialogues are based. The exercises are also firmly based on situations and few of them can be done mechanically. They are creative of language skill and there are plenty of them. Self-taught students, for whom the book is partly intended, should have been given a Key!

The language of the book is lively and natural, avoiding both pomposity and an undue degree of slang. Learners who take the trouble to absorb it will find it stands them in good stead.

MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING BY TELEVISION. Raymond Hickel, *Council of Europe*, Strasbourg. 1965. 185 pp.

In this excellent survey, M. Hickel attempts to cover the whole field of television language-teaching as it exists today, basing his findings on

first-hand information from the nineteen countries of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe. M. Hickel is a well-known French teacher of English and an expert on audio-visual procedures; the Council of Europe could hardly have commissioned a more suitable person to conduct this survey.

The bulk of this survey describes and analyses the television teaching of languages to both adults and schools, with some attempt at the evaluation of the different approaches that exist. In his account of schools TV he has many shrewd comments to make about the receiving end of such lessons, the relationship of direct method to TV, the reactions of pupils, and the role of the teacher in the TV classroom; even possible future developments such as language examinations by TV, and the question of cheaper alternatives to TV teaching such as radiovision.

There is a special chapter devoted to the question of costing, planning, and personnel as it exists in different countries and TV companies today. The writer pleads for a greater exchange of information, including financial, between countries, so that snags and setbacks are as freely circulated as successes. He suggests in his final chapter that greater co-ordination between educational TV enterprises, especially in the role of language-teaching at all levels, will quickly produce greater efficiency to the benefit of all. TV is still a new approach, and a lot of experimenting is called for; co-ordination of plans would bring about great economies by apportioning the experimental work between countries already advanced in the matter to be looked into, so long as they maintained among themselves a close liaison throughout. In other words, a frank pooling of international resources and co-operation in common productions is, for M. Hickel, the signpost to follow for speedy success in the field of education. His concluding chapter will provide food for argument and discussion for a long time to come.

In the section dealing with programme exchanges, the writer points out that quite a number of programmes for schools TV at home would, with very little editing, make excellent material for foreign-language teaching abroad. As examples he cites the presentation of classical plays and literary adaptations to help the normal language and literature type school syllabus, or (at a more advanced level) such a series as *World Around Us* (A.R.), *Man to Man* (A.T.V.), or *Signpost* and *Living in the Present* (B.B.C.), all of which could, with suitable commentary, help students in other countries to acquire modern and scientific English idiom and vocabulary. Exchanges along these lines could be most advantageous under some system of pooled resources.

A good international bibliography is appended, covering the association of language teaching and TV, and including periodicals, films, and records. As appendices are models of questionnaires sent to ministries of education and to radio and TV organizations, as well as the full report of the London Seminar of the Council of Europe on the Teaching of Languages by Television, held in September last year.

Apart from a small point of some confusion between the names of René Quinault of the B.B.C. and Bernard Queenan of CETO in the opening chapter, this survey is an accurate and lively account of the position of language teaching by television as it is today, and is a most valuable book for any teacher interested in the potentialities of television.

GETTING ON IN ENGLISH.

John Haycraft. *B.B.C.* 1965. xiii + 258 pp.

This is an intermediate English course intended particularly for those learners who have completed the B.B.C. course for adult beginners by David Hicks. Like that course, it is based on recorded material taken

rom the original radio programmes.

The structure of the forty units of the book reflects its origin, in that the kernel of each lesson is a dialogue: this material is available on records and tapes so that aural/oral techniques may be used. Further advantages of the design of the course are the emphasis throughout on spoken forms and the compelling continuity of an amusing story-line. (The conversations tell of the adventures of a foreign visitor who hopes to sell in Britain his invention, an inflatable umbrella.) Conversely, practice in reading a more formal written style of English is reduced.

The apparatus of the course includes a considerable number of notes on grammar and expression—some are couched in rather unusual ways: 'Notice the verb is put in the gerund'—and a laudably high provision of substitution tables provides plenty of drill. Unfortunately some of these generate doubtful sentences like 'I'll go and see the tea' (p. 5) and many exercises are completely without context.

Nevertheless the course has much to commend it; it is amusingly illustrated by Gus, the characters are well-developed and interesting, and the bilingual versions in French, Italian, Spanish, and other languages promise a wide audience for Mr Haycraft's expositions on English grammar and business letter writing.

LOWER CAMBRIDGE ENGLISH.

Linton Stone. *Macmillan*. 1965.

168 pp. 5s. 6d.

Dr Stone's book is planned so as 'to provide a complete course' in preparation for the Lower Cambridge English language and composition papers. It claims to be suitable both for class-work and for do-it-yourself students.

The first part deals with vocabulary and idioms and teaches some grammar (mostly tenses and sentence-building). The vocabulary lists, as the author admits, are arbitrarily chosen. For example, 'cockles' and

'mussels', which most English people associate closely, appear under different headings. In the list of words connected with the arts, we find 'throw', without any explanation, and with no mention either of 'pottery' or of 'wheel'. The exercises in this section of the book require the student to make more lists, for which the material is not all provided and must presumably be assembled from bilingual dictionaries. Many teachers feel that words should not be taught like this, with no reference to context.

Some of the 'idiomatic phrases' taught are rightly so called, and would help a student to write or understand idiomatic English, but there still appear the 'lists of idioms' familiar to those who learnt a foreign language forty or more years ago. These are dangerous, as nothing is more likely to make a foreigner ridiculous than over-indulgence in these phrases. Dr Stone's pupils may not be encouraged to announce that 'the hand that rocked the cradle has kicked the bucket', but they would probably say 'I am in the soup and in my landlady's bad books because this morning I was on the carpet for having a month's lodging on the slate'.

The grammatical explanations are too difficult for L.C.E. students. It is extremely hard, as anyone who has tried it knows, to avoid making the textbook English several grades above that which it is trying to inculcate, but anyone who is not prepared to take trouble over this is not qualified to write a textbook in 1965, when there are plenty of textbooks around. The very foreword unnecessarily introduces a metaphor requiring a footnote. The 'gerund' is distinguished from the 'participle' and the 'object' from the 'complement'. We are promised (or threatened?) that 'In more advanced sentence writing you will use double compound and compound-complex forms'. Some exercises, particularly on the use of tenses, are ingenious and foolproof, but others (e.g. Explain your usage) emphasize talk-

ing about English, which is not the students' job. The examples are odd: *She said she was tired then earlier . . . She heard the clock broken*, etc. Some of his examples suggest that the author has been listening to foreign pupils till he caught the contagion: *Three months more will make six months I have been learning English*, or: *You may have bought such roses*. Let the reader try this one, especially if he is a do-it-yourself L.C.E. candidate. 'Rewrite as one simple sentence: *There is no point in boring you. The captain was found dead on his own bridge.*'

The second (Composition) section is better. It provides a step-by-step demonstration of précis writing and unusually detailed help with other kinds of composition. Examples of business and private letters are set out and explained. There are also cautionary examples clearly labelled DON'T SAY THIS. Most teachers deprecate putting these before the pupils in permanent form, however well signposted. In the chapter on essay-writing examples are given of various types of essay, with notes on the arrangement and development of ideas, and model paragraphs or whole essays. The style is not particularly good, and your reviewer would not recommend it to students. Let readers judge from a sample. 'This was a moment I had long thought about, and one of excitement and great emotion. Perhaps more exciting to think about than to actually experience. Then there was the sight of my own home again; actually being in the place I had never lost sight of in my mind. Again there was something less exciting about actually seeing this again.'

To sum up, this book is cheap and well-produced but decidedly unequal in quality.

LOWER CERTIFICATE ENGLISH COURSE for foreign students. Ona Low. Arnold. 1964. 320 pp. 12s. 6d.

Of the eighteen chapters in this book three deal with composition, letter-

writing, and précis. One has a reading passage of about 950 words, followed by subjects for conversation, essays, and debates, of which some are based on the subject-matter of the passage. The remaining fourteen chapters consist of reading passages of varying lengths, followed by notes, questions on subject-matter, and a sizeable chunk of grammar with exercises. As the book is intended to cover a year's work, giving on an average six chapters a term, there is plenty to occupy the most industrious student. The author suggests that only with a group meeting for ten hours a week or more can all the sections be dealt with in class. Other students will have to do a great deal more homework than is commonly achieved by those who are not studying full-time, as *au pair* girls for example. This is not necessarily a fault in the book, as teachers prefer to have plenty of material to choose from, and will know what is most useful for their own pupils.

The chapter on writing a composition is in simple English that students at this level ought to be able to follow, even if they are working without a teacher. After a short preamble about the usefulness of free composition, the student is led through the following steps: What exactly am I supposed to be writing about?, the planning, beginning, ending, and writing of a composition. There are notes on thinking in English, using a dictionary, paragraphs, and the conventions of written English. There follow reminders about reading through, corrections, and regular practice. The chapter ends with model compositions of about 350 words each at two different levels, the first very simple and the second at L.C.E. level.

A detailed examination of one chapter will give a fair idea of those that form the bulk of the book. There is a story of the fable type (*There was once a wealthy merchant who had three sons . . .*) with an explicit moral at the end. The setting and vocabulary of the story, how-

ever, are modern. The text is numbered at every fifth line and the notes which follow have line references. This chapter has less than a page and a half of text followed by more than six and a half pages of notes. Some teachers may not like the turning to and fro of pages which this entails, but others may find it an advantage to give their own explanations and put their own questions while the class are undistracted by the notes. Great emphasis is laid upon careful study of the meanings of words, other associated words are added in a way likely to increase the student's active and passive vocabulary, and background information is supplied. Many of the notes are in the form of questions, encouraging the class to think for themselves, which would be salutary in those countries where examinations require the disgorging of undigested material. The 'fairly intelligent student' referred to in the preface would need more than 'a good dictionary' if he were not to become discouraged when working alone. After the notes come tables of tenses with exercises including changing from the active to the passive voice and vice versa. The last sentence of the section contains 'ought to' and this leads to a note on 'should' with the same meaning, with substitution and free exercises. The

last exercise, requiring examples to be found in the text of, e.g. 'conditional simple active' is not useful except to grammarians. The next grammar point explained is defining and non-defining clauses, listed in the contents table as *defining the non-defining clauses*. The rest of the chapter consists of a mixed bag of explanations and exercises, some arising out of the text and some not: position of 'enough'; expressions like 'the more the better'; verbs followed by the infinitive, a noun clause or an -ing form; an exercise to be completed with missing prepositions; choosing the more suitable of a pair of words for the given context. The chapter also contains five comprehension questions, ten conversation openings, two essay subjects, and a précis. There is a noticeable emphasis on the typical mistakes of French-speaking students. In this chapter alone we find: What is the difference between a *rehearsal* and a *repetition*? One cannot say: 'He wanted that I came.' The soldier is now on permission/leave.

This book, supplemented by some of the other aids to learning mentioned in the preface, provides a wealth of material which should be valuable to new teachers, and all teachers and students will probably find something of interest and use in it.

Books and Periodicals Noted

Teaching Foreign Languages:

MODERNER FREMDSPRACHENUNTERRICHT. Bericht Internationale Konferenz, Berlin. 1964. Papers in English, French and German. Franz Cornelsen Verlag, Berlin.

Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language:

TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE. A Book of Readings. Ed. H. B. Allen. McGraw-Hill. 1965. \$6.75. 54s.

LANGUAGE TEACHING, LINGUISTICS AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY. *University of the West Indies Faculty of Education*, Kingston, Jamaica. 1965. 10s. 6d.

Teaching English:

TEACHING LANGUAGE, COMPOSITION, AND LITERATURE. H. E. Fowler. *McGraw-Hill*. 1965. 64s.

Linguistics:

LANGUAGE IN THOUGHT AND ACTION. 2nd edition. S. I. Hayakawa. *Allen & Unwin*. 1965. 25s. paper. 30s. cloth.

COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE. Macdonald Illustrated Library. Ed. G. Barry, J. Bronowski, J. Fisher, J. Huxley. *Macdonald*. 1965. 55s.

The English Language:

A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE ENGLISH VERB. F. R. Palmer. *Longmans*. 1965. 27s. 6d.

A MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMAR. K. Schibbye. *O.U.P.* 1965. 21s.

Dictionaries:

THE PENGUIN ENGLISH DICTIONARY. G. N. Garmonsway, with J. Simpson. 1965. 12s. 6d.

MODERN ENGELSK SVENSK ORDBOK. B. Danielsson. *Bogforlaget Prisma*, Stockholm. 1964.

FOWLER'S MODERN ENGLISH USAGE. 2nd edition. Revised by E. Gowers. *O.U.P.* 21s.

AN INTERNATIONAL READER'S DICTIONARY. M. West. *Longmans*. 1965. 7s. 6d.

A SENTENCE DICTIONARY. Compiled by E. Neal. *Hulton Educational Publications*. 1965. 9s. 6d.

GERMAN-ENGLISH ECONOMIC TERMINOLOGY. R. Renner-R. Sachs-J. Fosberry. *Max Hueber*. 1965. DM 27.80., Kart. DM 23.80.

Audio-Visual Aids:

THE AUDIO-VISUAL APPROACH TO MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING. A Symposium. Ed. P. J. Vernon. *National Committee for Audio-Visual Aids in Education*, London. 1965. 5s. 6d. + 6d. postage.

THE USE OF LANGUAGE LABORATORIES IN GREAT BRITAIN. A report based on the survey. *National Committee for Audio-Visual Aids in Education*, London. Occasional paper 1. 1965. 2s.

Phonetics, Pronunciation:

ENGLISH MONOSYLLABLES. A Minimal Pair Locator List. *East-West Center Press*, Honolulu. 1965. \$1.25.

ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION ILLUSTRATED. J. L. M. Trim. Drawings by P. Kneebone. *C.U.P.* 1965. 6s.

SPOKEN ENGLISH FOR OVERSEAS STUDENTS. J. D. Bentley. *Hulton*. 1965. 6s. 6d.

A PRACTICE BOOK OF ENGLISH SPEECH. P. MacCarthy. *O.U.P.* 1965. 12s. 6d.

ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION PRACTICE. G. F. Arnold and A. C. Gimson. *U.L.P.* 1965. 6s. 6d.

STRESS AND INTONATION STEP BY STEP. L. A. Hill. Workbook, 6s. Companion, 6s. Five 7 in. (17 cm.) records, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ r.p.m. *O.U.P.* 1965.

Courses:

AN ADVANCED REFRESHER COURSE. L. A. Hill. *O.U.P.* 1965. 8s.

ENGLISH FROM ZERO. M. Daniels. *U.L.P.* 1965. 12s. 6d.

MORE ENGLISH. A. Sprules. *U.L.P.* 1965. 8s. 6d.

WORLD-WIDE ENGLISH. R. Ridout. Introductory Book, 4s. 6d. Bk. 1, 6s. Bk. 2, 6s. 6d. Reader Intro. A., 2s. 4d. Reader 1A, 2s. 6d. Reader 2A, 2s. 6d. *Macmillan*. 1965.

THE ARGONAUTS' ENGLISH COURSE for Greek-speaking children. W. R. Lee and L. Koullis. Teacher's Book 1, 10s. Picture Book, 4s. Flash-cards, 65s. My First English Reading-Book, 3s. 3d. My First English Writing-Book, 2s. Wall Sheets 1-6, 25s. *O.U.P.* 1965.

AN ENGLISH COURSE FOR FRENCH-SPEAKERS. Book 2, 8s. Teacher's Guide to Book 2, 10s. H. A. Cartledge and T. J. C. Baly. *Longmans*. 1965.

- GUIDED ENGLISH. A course for Secondary Schools. D. H. Howe. *O.U.P.* 1964. 8s.
- LOWER CAMBRIDGE ENGLISH. Linton Stone. *Macmillan*. 1965. 5s. 6d.
- CURSO INTERNACIONAL DE INGLÉS. H. E. Palmer. Language and Language Learning Series. No. 7. *O.U.P.* 10s.
- THE PIVOT ENGLISH COURSE. A. Curtis, R. Malone, C. O'Hagan. Pupil's Bk. 1 for Std. 4, 6s. 6d. Tchr's. Bk. 1, 6s. *Longmans*. 1965.
- SITUATIONAL ENGLISH. Adapted by the Commonwealth Office of Education, Sydney, Australia, from *English for Newcomers to Australia*. *Longmans*. 1965. Pt. 1. Student's Bk., 5s. 6d. Teacher's Bk., 8s. 3d.
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English Language Teaching

VOLUME XX * NUMBER 3 * May 1966

Editor W. R. LEE

EDITORIAL

PROFESSOR W. F. MACKEY'S ARTICLE on applied linguistics in this issue is especially welcome, and this seems a particularly suitable moment to make plain that *English Language Teaching* is not a journal of applied linguistics.

In so far as language teaching is a matter of applications at all, it rests upon applications of psychology no less than on those of linguistics, though little enough is known with any certainty about either kind of application.

'Applied linguistics'—a blanket term—covers a wider field, including machine translation, the teaching of the deaf, and the transmission of signals. With such activities *E.L.T.* is but marginally concerned.

The current fashion, in some quarters, of identifying language-teaching theory and applied linguistics is ridiculous and deplorable. At the same time it would be absurd to deny that applications of linguistics to language teaching can appropriately be made. *E.L.T.* is, of course, interested in these. It is also interested in any other type of theory or fact which can be so applied. Most of all, it is interested in the practice itself, for generalizations about language-teaching method and procedure are likely to be shakily founded unless the first-hand experience of language teaching is taken very fully into account. Nor will they ring true.

It is precisely because *E.L.T.* is concerned with the theory and practice of language teaching that it cannot be a journal of applied linguistics. It is both more and less than that—more, because it does not deal only with applications of linguistic theory to language teaching; and less, because it does not deal with applications of linguistic theory in other fields.

Forthcoming Articles

Forthcoming articles include 'Group Work in Colleges' (J. Forrester), 'Preparing an Advanced Composition Course' (J. F. Green), 'Stress, Pitch, and Juncture' (J. Halverson), 'Programmed Instruction and the Class Teacher' (L. A. Hill), 'The Incidental Presentation of Teaching Items' (A. S. Hornby), 'Guessing Games' (W. R. Lee), 'The Factor of Purpose in Grammar Teaching' (I. Morris), 'Forms and Uses of Nouns of Nationality' (A. F. Powell), 'Levels of Usage' (F. C. Parkinson), 'The Language Laboratory as an Aid in Oral Tests Overseas' (J. A. Roemmele), 'Gestures in the Language Classroom' (R. L. Saitz), 'Vowel Quality in Unstressed Syllables' (M. Schubiger), 'An Articulatory Unit for Speech and Text' (D. Shillan), 'Barking up the Wrong Tree, or Does a Rise Follow a Fall?' (E. L. Tibbitts), and 'The Mighty *Must*' (S. F. Whitaker).

Note for our contributors. Would-be contributors are urged to send in outlines or suggestions *only*, to begin with, and not complete articles. All manuscripts should be typed in double spacing and wide margins left. Footnotes should be placed not at the end of the typescript but as close as possible to the text to which they refer.

*Applied Linguistics: Its Meaning and Use*¹

WILLIAM F. MACKEY

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AMONG THE POST-WAR remedies for the betterment of foreign-language teaching it is applied linguistics that has attracted the greatest attention. In the training of language teachers this new discipline is gradually taking the place of philology. Every year practising language teachers are hearing more and more about 'the science of applied linguistics'. In some quarters language teaching is considered to be the exclusive province of this new science. And in certain countries national agencies have been convinced that no one not trained in the techniques of applied linguistics can successfully teach a language.

What is applied linguistics? What does one apply when one applies linguistics? How does it relate to language learning? How does it concern language teaching? Of what use is it to the teacher? What is new about it? These are some of the questions which language teachers have been asking; it is the purpose of this article to supply some of the answers, without necessarily trying, as many such efforts often do, to sell the product at the same time. Let us take the above questions in the order in which they appear.

1. What is applied linguistics?

The term 'applied linguistics' seems to have originated in the United States in the 1940's. It was first used by persons with an obvious desire to be identified as scientists rather than as humanists; the association with 'applied science' can hardly have been accidental. Yet, although linguistics is a science, 'applied science' does not necessarily include linguistics.

The creation of applied linguistics as a discipline represents an effort to find practical applications for 'modern scientific linguistics'. While assuming that linguistics can be an applied science, it brings together such diverse activities as the making of alphabets by missionaries and the making of translations by machines. The use of the term has now become crystallized in the names of language centres, reviews, books, and articles.

¹This is a modified version of an article which appeared in *Vuosikirja 4 : Suomen Uusien Kielten Opettajien Liitto*.

2. *What does one apply?*

What does one apply when one applies linguistics? What is applied may be a theory of language and/or a description of one.

If it is a theory of language, what is applied depends of course on the sort of theory being used. If the theory is based on the existence of units of meaning, for example, the results will be different from what they would be if the theory ignored the existence of such units.

There are dozens of ways in which one theory may differ from another; and there are dozens of different theories of language, several of which are mutually contradictory. Some of these constitute schools of language theory, like the Saussurian School, the Psychomechanic School, the Glossematic School, the Bloomfieldian School, the Prague School, the Firthian School, and others. When we examine the many theories of different schools and individuals we note that very few indeed have ever been applied to anything. We also notice that those which have been applied are not necessarily the most applicable. On the other hand, the fact that a language theory has never been applied to language teaching does not mean that it cannot be. Some of the more ambitious and inclusive theories, which seem to be the most relevant, have in fact never been applied.

Secondly, if it is a description of a language that is being applied, it might include any or all of its phonetics, grammar, or vocabulary. And since descriptions based on the same theory often differ there are more varieties of description than there are types of theory.

Descriptions differ in their purpose, extent, and presentation. Some descriptions aim at being concise; others at being extensive. Some analyse the language by breaking it down; others by building it up. Some are made as if the language described is unknown to the linguist; others as if it is already known to the reader. Some will present the language in two levels (grammar and phonology); others in as many as fourteen. Yet the number of levels of a description is no indication of its linguistic range; a three-level description may have a wider scope than an eight-level one which excludes vocabulary, meaning, or context. Some descriptions are based on written works; others on speech. Some may cover all areas in which the language is spoken; others may be limited to a single city. Some may be compiled from the speech of a single person over a period of a few weeks; others may be based on the writings of many authors covering a few centuries.

It is obvious, therefore, that the problem of the language teacher is not only whether or not to apply linguistics, but whose linguistics to apply, and what sort.

3. How does it relate to language learning?

In order to exist, a language must have been learnt; but in order to be learnt a language does not have to have been analysed. For the process of learning a language is quite different from the process of analysing one. Persons who have never gone to school find it difficult to divide their language into such classes as the parts of speech, despite the fact that they may speak their native language with a great deal of fluency and elegance. Foreign languages have also been successfully mastered throughout the ages without benefit of analysis.

It is the production of methods of analysis that is the business of the linguist. But if the linguist claims that such and such a method is the best way to learn the language, he is speaking outside his competence. For it is not learning, but language, that is the object of linguistics. Language learning cannot therefore be the purpose of linguistics—pure or applied. Applied linguistics is not language learning.

Therefore the units used for analysing a language are not necessarily those needed for learning it. As an illustration, let us take a sample of an analysis of English made by a representative of one of the schools of linguistics which has done the most applied linguistics in language teaching. As a case in point, let us take the description of the English pronouns. The pronouns are arranged into seven sets, which include 23 units. To explain these, 34 other units (called *morphs*) are brought into the picture, although they have no further function than to explain the first 23. Rules are then given to 'convert the abstract forms into those actually found'. For example, after having learned that the abstract form for the first person plural object is $\ast\{w-i-m\}$, we get the form actually found, the form *us*, by applying the following rule:

1. *we* : $\{w-i-y\}$
2. *us* : $\ast\{w-i-m\}$; $\{-m\}$ after $\{w-i\}$ becomes $\{-s\}$;
 $\ast\{w-i\}$ before resulting $\{-s\}$ becomes $\{-ə-\}$, a portmanteau
3. *our* : $\ast\{w-i-r\}$; before $\{-r\}$ and $\{r-z\}$, initial consonant and vowel are transposed, giving $\ast\{i-w\}$; initial $\ast\{i-\}$ becomes $\{a-\}$ before $\{-w-\}$
4. *ours* : $\ast\{w-i-r-z\}$ (See rules given for 3.)¹

If this is to be applied linguistics, it should justify the definition of philology sometimes attributed to Voltaire, 'la science où les

¹A. A. Hill, *Introduction to Linguistic Structures: from sound to sentence in English*. New York: Harcourt, 1958, p. 150.

voyelles ne comptent pour rien, et les consonnes pour peu de chose'. One can imagine what happens when two languages are contrasted on this basis.

It is true, however, that some linguists have pointed out the disparity between language learning and language description, stating that 'a linguistic description of a language is of little help in learning the language ; recently published structural accounts of European languages rebut any disclaimer to this judgment'.¹ For two descriptions of the same language can be so different that a learner may not be blamed for wondering whether the units and categories alleged to form the essential elements of the language exist only in the minds of those who have attempted to describe it.

4. *How does it concern language teaching?*

Although the linguistic descriptions of the same language are not identical, it is now widely admitted that the linguist is the competent person to write our grammars, phonetics manuals, and dictionaries. In some quarters it is assumed that the very fact he can do this makes him qualified to form language-teaching policy and prepare language-teaching texts. In the use of applied linguistics in language teaching, it has been further assumed that if one is able to make a thorough description of the forms of a language, one is by that very fact able to teach it.

These assumptions are obviously ill-founded, for there have been outstanding language teachers with no knowledge of linguistics. And it has been demonstrated that 'the methods of the linguistic scientist *as a teacher* are not necessarily the most effective'.² This can be explained by the different preoccupations of the two disciplines. Much of the present state of applied linguistics in language teaching is due to the fact that some linguists have been more interested in finding an application for their science than in solving the problems of language teaching. Some of the unhappy results have been due to a desire to apply to language teaching a one-sided technique of formal description with no universal validity, even in the field of linguistic analysis.

Much is made of the ability of the linguist to predict mistakes by comparing the native language of the learner with the language he is being taught. This differential description is sometimes confusingly called 'contrastive linguistics', a term which also means the analysis of a single language based essentially on the contrast of its units one with the other. What is the use of predicting

¹J. Whatmough, *Language: A Modern Synthesis*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1956, p. 145.

²J. B. Carroll, *The Study of Language: A survey of linguistics and related disciplines in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 192.

mistakes already heard? Since anyone who has taught a language can predict from experience the sort of mistakes his students are likely to make *a posteriori*, is he any the wiser for the *a priori* and less reliable prediction which the linguist makes on the basis of a differential analysis?

It has been stated as a principle of 'applied linguistics' that all the mistakes of the language learner are due to the make-up of his native language. This is demonstrably false. Many mistakes actually made have no parallel in the native language; they are simply extensions of the foreign language patterns into areas in which they do not apply, e.g. **I said him so* on the analogy of *I told him so*. Other mistakes are due to a confusion of new material with parts of the language not deeply enough ingrained; this inhibition is a matter of order and rate of intake. Still other mistakes are due to the habit, which language learners soon acquire, of avoiding the similarities with their native language. This may result in either blind guessing or the systematic avoidance of native patterns, even though these exist in the foreign language, e.g. words like *attack* (a cognate of the French *attaque*) are stressed on the first syllable by French learners of English despite the fact that both French and English versions have the stress on the final syllable. Texts for language teaching based only on the differences between the two languages cannot take these important tendencies into account.

Even for the many mistakes due directly to interference from the native language the practising teacher is in a better position than the descriptive linguist. For although a differential description, of English and French for example, may indeed point out the fact that a French learner of English may have difficulty in pronouncing the interdental sounds of *thin* and *then* because of their absence from the French phoneme inventory, it cannot predict, as can an experienced teacher, which way a given learner or group of learners will handle the difficulty. In fact, different learners with the same native language do make different mistakes; the above interdental sounds, for example, are rendered sometimes as /s, z/, sometimes as /t, d/. But this information is supplied, not by an *a priori* comparison of English and French, but by the observations of language teachers.

Applications of differential descriptions do not produce the same type of teaching. For some teachers will start drilling the differences because they are difficult, while others will start using the similarities because they are easy (e.g. the 'cognate method').

Most of the available differential descriptions are so superficial and incomplete as to be misleading. This is because they are at best based on a unit-by-unit and structure-by-structure comparison of two languages. They fail to show all the units of the first

language which are equivalent to structures in the second, and the structures in the first which are equivalent to units in the second. They also ignore the units and structures of one level that are equivalent to structures and units of another. And even with this, they are still dealing only with the make-up of the languages, not with the multiple differences in contextual usage, with the fact that in such and such circumstance a learner must say one thing in his native language but something entirely different in the foreign language. Since we do not have such complete differential descriptions of any two languages—even of the most widely known—we are likely to get better results by collecting and classifying the mistakes which the learners make than by trying to predict those we should expect him to make.

5. Of what use is it to the teacher?

It is the business of the language teacher to know the foreign language, to know how to teach it and to know something about it. It is in relation to this latter need that linguistics might be expected to be useful. But the contents of most courses in linguistics for language teachers are seldom concerned with the analysis of the material which the teacher will have to teach; they are of little direct help in the preparation of specific language lessons. At best, they are background courses in the description of the language to be taught. In practice, many such courses are devoted to proving to the language teacher that most of the grammar rules he has been taught are false because they have not been arrived at by 'scientific' methods of analysis. In some courses, the very word 'grammar' is taboo; one refers not to the 'grammar of the English language' but rather to the 'structure of the English language'. Teachers are asked to discard familiar and widely accepted terms which have a long tradition of usage, in favour of a new jargon representing one of several brands of language analysis. And after having mastered the technicalities of one brand of linguistics the language teacher encounters other brands with conflicting theories and contradictory methods of analysis. Should he then keep on believing in one without trying to understand the others? Or should he study all of them?

What is the language teacher to do when faced with the multiplicity of approaches to the analysis of a language and the different trends in descriptive linguistics? What should be his attitude when asked to give up his grammars on the grounds that they are unscientific—that they give recipes rather than formulas?

Above all, the language teacher must be interested in results; and tested recipes are often better than untested formulas. Until more complete and definitive analyses are available, language

teaching will have to rely for its description of a language on those abundant and serviceable grammars of the past. For a language teacher, the completeness of a grammar is more relevant than its scientific consistency; clarity is more important than conciseness; examples more useful than definitions. If the language teacher is to wait until more scientific grammars are produced he puts himself in the position of the tanner of hides who stops tanning until the chemists have found the chemical formula describing exactly what is done. The formula, once discovered, might eventually improve the tanning operation; but until it is formulated and tested and proven more effective, the only sensible thing to do is to continue tanning hides in a way that has given the best results.

The fact is that most of the new 'linguistically approved' grammars being applied to language teaching are more difficult to use and far less complete than are the older works. Some are no more than undigested research essays on the making of a grammar. Others represent a sort of do-it-yourself grammar-making kit allegedly designed to 'crack the code' of any language in the world.

Although the ability to analyse a language may not be the most important qualification of a language teacher, some training in practical linguistics can enable him to establish with more precision than he otherwise might what is the same and what is different in the languages with which he has to deal. It can also help him understand, evaluate, and perhaps use some of the descriptions of the language he is teaching. And if the training is neither too one-sided nor doctrinaire it may prevent him from becoming the prisoner of a single school of thought and encourage him to surmount the great terminological barriers which have prevented any mutual understanding in linguistics.

Ideally, such training could put the teacher in a position to analyse each linguistic contribution and its application to language teaching, from the small details of analysis to the hidden theoretical assumptions on which the analysis is based. Such training would make it unnecessary for the language teacher to swallow a man's philosophy along with his linguistics. For the main attraction of some analyses is their consistency with certain philosophical beliefs. Is it then any advantage to deny the beliefs and admit the consistency, for consistency's sake? Or is it better to seek an analysis which is philosophically more palatable but perhaps less consistent?

Finally, the proper sort of training could enable the teacher to distinguish between the scientific status of linguistics and the scientific pretensions of linguists. For some linguists seem to be so eager to appear 'scientific' that they state or restate the most banal facts about a language in a pseudo-scientific notation and a collection of technical terms borrowed indifferently from several

disciplines and heavy with scientific associations. Old ideas about language do not become better when couched in an unfamiliar jargon. This leads us to our final question.

6. *What is new about it?*

As far as language-teaching is concerned, there are very few ideas proposed as applied linguistics which were not familiar to teachers at one time or another. What, for example, is essentially different in practice between the 'phonemic transcription' proposed today and the 'broad transcription' used by language teachers in the past century?

Throughout the history of formal language teaching there has always been some sort of applied linguistics, as it is known today. For language teachers have always tended to apply language analysis to the teaching of a language; in fact, some of the first descriptions of a language were made for the purpose of teaching it. Yet the sorts of descriptions actually produced have varied with the needs and contingencies of the time. And some of the oldest are still some of the best. Such ancient classics as the grammars of Pāṇini, Dionysius, Priscian, and Donatus are not outclassed by those of today. Yet the blind application of the categories of these grammars to the description of modern European and even to non-European languages was obviously so unsuitable as to create a series of reactions which resulted in the attitude of 'scientific' superiority which afflicts contemporary linguistics.

One is the reaction against the linguistic analysis of exotic languages made in the past century—a type of analysis which superimposed the structure of European languages on the facts of the native language being described. As a reaction against this, techniques of description were developed by Boas, Sapir, and, especially, by Bloomfield and his associates. These techniques were apparently so successful that they were later applied to languages, like English, with a long tradition of linguistic analysis. This in turn was a reaction against the current English school grammars which still propagated the traditional definitions of the eighteenth century. But in the process the best linguistic traditions were ignored, including the works of such linguists as Sweet and Jespersen, so that the language might be handled as if the person describing its elements were unable to understand them. And the movement, which started as an effort to prevent the analysis of exotic languages as if they were English, found itself analysing English as if it were an exotic language.

Against this trend, other reactions are beginning to take shape. These are appearing as a re-formulation of the traditional approach to grammar, a compromise with the older grammatical

categories, a return to the study of ancient grammatical theory. It is now being admitted that the old universal grammatical theories were more in need of revision than of repudiation. And some linguists are beginning to consider the descriptions of 'modern scientific linguistics' as nothing more than another arrangement of the grammatical data, according to a less traditional outline, but nevertheless according to a completely arbitrary set of labels which has become fossilized within its own short linguistic tradition.¹

If linguistics has been applied to the language part of 'language learning', psychology has been applied to the learning part of it. The history of the application of the principles of psychology to the learning of languages is analogous so that of the applications of linguistic analysis. So is the situation today. There are almost as many different theories of learning as there are theories of language. Most of them are still based on the observations of animal learning. Although there is a promising branch of psychology devoted to verbal learning and verbal behaviour, it is still involved in solving problems related to the learning of isolated items.

In one form or another, both language analysis and psychology have always been applied to the teaching of foreign languages. In fact, the history of language teaching could be represented as a cyclic shift in prominence from the one to the other, a swing from the strict application of principles of language analysis to the single-minded insistence on principles of psychology. The history zigzags, with many minor oscillations in between, from the mediaeval grammarians to Comenius, from Plötz to Gouin. And today's interest in applied linguistics represents another swing toward the primacy of language analysis in language teaching.²

Contemporary claims that applied linguistics can solve all the problems of language teaching are as unfounded as the claims that applied psychology can solve them. For the problems of language teaching are central neither to psychology nor linguistics. Neither science is equipped to solve the problems of language teaching.

It is likely that language teaching will continue to be a child of fashion in linguistics and psychology until the time it becomes an autonomous discipline which uses these related sciences instead of being used by them. To become autonomous it will, like any science, have to weave its own net, so as to fish out from the

¹R. B. Lees, Review of *Syntactic Structures* by Noam Chomsky, *Language* 33: 377.

²W. F. Mackey, *Language Teaching Analysis*. London: Longmans, 1966, p. 151.

oceans of human experience and natural phenomena only the elements it needs, and, ignoring the rest, be able to say with the ichthyologist of Sir Arthur Eddington, 'What my net can't catch isn't fish.'

Is Translation a Good Language Test?

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IN FINLAND the school-leaving test in English has, since the 1920's, been a two-way translation. The same type of test is being used in many other countries all over the world. Despite the fact that these tests are generally constructed by professors of philology, administered by ministries of education, and marked by experienced teachers, we may ask: Does a tradition of some forty years, together with high philological competence on the part of the test-makers, necessarily guarantee a good test?

Not necessarily, because (1) we should not hang on tradition in a field where progress has been as rapid as in language testing during the last forty years; (2) university professors and school authorities cannot waste their precious time studying and experimenting in order to become experts in language testing.

Yet, so great is our awe of authority in questions of language teaching that no one has publicly questioned that a translation test is justified as the final test, even though teachers everywhere have to admit that they must resort to highly unorthodox teaching methods in order to secure their pupils' success in such a final test.

In raising the question of whether translation tests are justified I feel that I am questioning something considered to be a language-testing *must* in the eyes of most language teachers in many countries. Yet certain aspects of translation tests must be brought to light and discussed before we can answer the question: should the translation test be retained as a valid, reliable, and objective test of the linguistic achievements of coming generations?

A good language teacher trains his pupils in all the elements and skills that are necessary for the mastery of the language. A good final test should measure the pupil's mastery of *all* these

elements and skills, i.e. pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and the social/cultural element, together with the skills of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing.¹

Does translation test these things adequately? It goes without saying that translation is of no avail as a test of pronunciation or of the oral skills of understanding and speaking. Consequently a candidate who cannot distinguish between the various sounds of English—let alone various stress and intonation patterns—may obtain the highest mark for his final test. Failure to distinguish between such patterns generally means that he understands very little ordinary spoken English, but this (again) does not interest the board of examiners. A person who does not hear properly can neither produce the correct sound, stress, and intonation patterns nor speak English fluently. This he need not do under the present system as long as he can translate well. On the other hand, a person with a sensitive ear and nimble tongue, who has acquired considerable oral fluency, may do rather badly in a translation test if he cannot manage to avoid the grammatical traps set. If such a person thus fails, the testing system defeats its purpose, since it is this very oral fluency that modern international communication demands.

The problem of testing active mastery of English pronunciation is not yet satisfactorily solved. On the other hand, it would be relatively easy to test a candidate's passive knowledge of English pronunciation. Such a test in the final language paper would change the pupil's attitudes towards pronunciation and thus facilitate the teacher's attempts to lay stress on oral work at all stages.

Of the skills of understanding and speaking, understanding can be measured with the help of tape recorders, whereas speaking still presents a testing problem. It would, however, be possible to record the pupil's performances and then examine the tapes at leisure. In such a test we would not try to find out the precise skill of each candidate, which would be impossible. It would be enough to find out whether he is a 'hopeless', 'satisfactory', 'good', or 'very good' speaker. Here again the emphasis is on the psychological effects of the test. The pupils would then welcome all forms of oral practice instead of considering oral practice, as they do now, a mere waste of time.

'Language must not be taught in a vacuum. Language material must be introduced in context or situation.' These are slogans of the pundits. But what happens to situation and context in a translation? A passage divorced from its context is to be translated into another language, in which some of the lexical equiva-

¹See Robert Lado's *Language Testing*, p. 25.

lents may have very different social and cultural import. A translation therefore gives only the superficial meaning of the English sentence, and the real meaning may be obscured or even lost altogether. Let me give examples.¹ The word 'Hello' has a dictionary equivalent in Finnish, which unfortunately also means 'Bye-bye'. So a number of Finns say 'Hello' to their English friends when leaving them. This mistake would never have occurred if they had learnt the social usage of this word together with its meaning. We translate: 'a seven-acre piece of land into Finnish as '7 eekkeriä maata', but this means nothing to a person who only knows the metric system. If a Finn reads: '. . . and he bought her a £35 engagement ring' translated into Finnish words (and currency), he will think the boy-friend either a millionaire or a lunatic, as very few people in Finland pay more than £10 for an engagement ring.

I once had to translate the word 'tutorial' into Finnish and it took me two hours and five words to do it because I wanted to be sure that the reader would get the right idea. I dread to think of the renderings this word would inspire in a translation test. Such words and expressions, for which the dictionary equivalents give only half the meaning or less, are common linguistic symbols of various aspects of British culture. In my view, examiners in foreign languages are not doing their work properly as long as they merely count how many lexical items the candidate 'knows' instead of concentrating on how well he understands the explicit and implicit meaning of the passage. This should be the main concern in testing reading comprehension, especially when the candidates are prospective university students.

Defenders of translation tests claim that we can measure a pupil's knowledge of grammar and vocabulary very adequately with a translation test, but they never ask themselves the question: How many grammatical structures can we include in a test consisting of, say, 150 words? If we assume that candidates have mastered the elementary structures—if not, they should not be sitting their final examination in English—we are left with some fifteen to thirty structures to be tested. Depending on the candidate's vernacular, some or many of these structures can be translated more or less word for word. The rest is often not a very representative sample of the real structural differences of the two languages. If a much greater number of really 'test-worthy' structures were included in a passage of limited length, the logic of the contents would suffer and the candidate would have to

¹All my examples are taken from the work of Finnish learners of English, but similar examples could be obtained wherever translation is the main form of test

translate nonsense for the sake of grammar, which unfortunately is not so rare. The solution, in my opinion, is a greater number of separate—preferably non-translation—testing items to determine the candidate's knowledge of structure. In addition, the skill of writing would have to be tested by means of composition.

To say that a translation test is excellent for measuring active and passive knowledge of vocabulary seems quite reasonable at first sight. But when we make certain calculations we find that a two-way translation of some 400 words tests only thirty to sixty items of passive vocabulary and twenty to forty items of active vocabulary, since the rest are either structural words or very common content words. In addition, the subject-matter limits the range of vocabulary used in the translation to a much greater extent than the range of structures; the rarer words in a passage often belong to only one lexical register, e.g. astronomy, landscape description. Arbitrary choice of texts, together with the system of deducting points for each word 'wrongly translated', deals harshly with those who cannot remember a great number of isolated words from various fields of knowledge. It also gives the candidate the idea that passive ability to recall lexical equivalents is synonymous with mastery of a foreign language. I have met quite a few such 'linguists' in the course of my work as a teacher of matriculated students and there is something frighteningly barren about their knowledge of English. They stare at you in mute hostility when you try to get them to speak. When addressed individually they either maintain silence or reply in monosyllables. They refuse to find any implied meaning in a passage of English beyond the translation into their vernacular. And their faces only light up when you ask them for the lexical meanings of words. This should not and must not be the outcome of seven years of language study.

A candidate may know the dictionary equivalents of all the words in a translation, but this does not necessarily mean that he really understands the text—not even when he has translated it, strange as that may sound. This can be verified by means of the following experiment. After a pupil has translated a passage he is asked to hand the text and his translation to the teacher, who then asks him questions about the content of the passage. The first questions are easy: 'Who are the main characters in the story?', 'Which part of England does the passage describe?', 'Who was Abraham Lincoln?', etc. They gradually get more difficult: 'Why did Mr X live in a boarding house?', 'In what season of the year was the description written?', 'How does Lincoln exemplify the American ideal?' Finally the pupil has to answer questions which require more thorough understanding and independent thinking based on the text: 'What would have happened if Mrs Z

had not got in touch with the police?', 'This is a description written by a painter. Give reasons why you think that the above statement is either true or false.' Or 'What makes Lincoln's death especially tragic?' All these questions are asked in *the pupil's vernacular*. Any teacher who tries this experiment will notice that some of his pupils cannot answer even all the easy questions, the average pupil finds the intermediate questions rather difficult, and only a few can manage the more advanced ones. Considering that the same pupils can memorize an incredible number of facts in other subjects and, being grammar school pupils, should be above the average intellectually, this is surprising. The extravagant use of translation as a test has blinded both pupils and teachers to such an extent that they do not realize what understanding a passage in a foreign language really means: that it entails much more than 'knowing' all the words in the passage.

It would be easy to substitute a comprehension test for the translation from English into the vernacular. This arrangement would have two significant advantages. A student preparing for a comprehension test is engaged in useful activity; he is practising the art of intelligent reading, which is an accomplishment that no prospective university student can afford to ignore. Secondly, such a test would force teachers and pupils alike to revalue such practices—now only too common—as the collecting of incoherent passive vocabularies and the marrying of the meaning of each English word to its dictionary equivalent in the vernacular.

According to a board of examiners in English the following would be a faultless translation from Finnish into English, i.e. no marks need be deducted for grammatical or lexical mistakes:¹

'It is quite a natural fact and occasionally even favourable that there are vast varieties between an older and a younger generation. Our own points of view often are extremely different from our parents' and our children beam upon us and think us to be in many a respect utterly antiquated. People have made numberless discoveries during the past fifty years, and they have absolutely reformed our community life. Also our diversions are changed and we do not nowadays approve of such kinds of pleasures as our fore-fathers liked. Sir Harold Nicolson, a well-known English writer, gives in our story an example concerning it out of his own life.'

Does this 'faultless' translation convey the ideas of the original Finnish text clearly and precisely? If it does not—as I am afraid we have to admit—should we not abolish translation and concentrate on training our pupils to express their own ideas *directly* in English with the help of guided and free composition properly 'taught' and practised throughout the course? If the board of

¹See Neuphilologische Mitteilungen Nr. 4 Supplement LXV-1964, pp. 21-32. (The passage is not given as the ideal translation.)

examiners had an English composition paper to mark in the final test, they would have to give as much attention to its good points as to its shortcomings. A candidate who knew this would write English more boldly and idiomatically. He would not be thwarted by the ingrained fear of making mistakes which is a result of the present translation system and which still encumbers the linguistic efforts of Finnish language-learners long after they have left school.

If we were to replace translation by tests that would involve most of the language elements and skills, we would meet with a number of problems in constructing and administering such tests. Not to attempt to solve these problems because a translation test is so easy to construct and administer is indefensible in view of the harmful influence translation has on language-teaching and learning in the upper forms of our schools.

It is a common error to think that a translation paper is easy to mark justly and objectively. I shall only mention the fact that two boards of examiners may mark the same translation papers very differently.¹ How free can a translation be without being incorrect? This is the question with which their teachers are concerned. A candidate is frustrated if he does not know whether or not his fluent translation is too free. If he decides to leave it unaltered, his teacher and the examiner have to cope with the same problem. They have to consult their dictionaries and their grammar books in order to find out whether the translation is right or wrong. If they decide on the latter, they have to consider how serious the mistake is, i.e. how many marks should be deducted. Different teachers and different examiners often arrive at different conclusions, which are all bound to be subjective, because there are no criteria to help them decide which one is right. The only sensible criterion, intelligibility, does not seem to count. If a candidate omits a plural -s, the maximum number of marks is deducted even if what has been written is quite intelligible, whereas the choice of a word which alters the meaning of the sentence considerably can go unpenalized, if dictionaries happen to mention this word as one of the equivalents of the corresponding word in the candidate's vernacular. There must be something seriously wrong with a system which makes intelligent men arrive at such decisions. The same system forces them to add up these rather arbitrarily given marks exactly and announce the sum as the precise evaluation of the candidate's knowledge—or should I say 'lack of knowledge'—of English. Even if they had a fool-proof method of deciding how many marks should be deducted

¹D. F. Anderson : 'Tests of Achievement in English Language', *E.L.T.*, VII, p. 40.

for each mistake, they would only be assessing a third, or even less, of the whole range of language mastery. The rest, the active, the most useful part of language proficiency would still defy this system of testing and the final marks would still be only an unreliable indication of the candidate's real abilities.

Because of the present testing system the language work done in the two highest forms in many countries consists almost entirely of translation practice. A good teacher suffers when he is forced to supervise such practice. He suffers because he knows the endless possibilities of the sensible and useful work that his advanced pupils could do with their English. He suffers because he has to spend innumerable hours marking translation papers, i.e. matching words of two languages and deciding how much 'more wrong' this is than that, a task that no language-teacher should be forced to undertake year after year. He suffers because, under his very eyes, he can see attitudes forming in his pupils' minds, attitudes against which he feels helpless: 'Language-learning is translation; language mastery is possessing a large vocabulary and knowing all the rules of grammar; everything else is irrelevant.' In vain will the teacher speak of language as a means of communication, of language as a vehicle of thought, of language as an expression of beauty. He will always be defeated, defeated by the final test that renders all his efforts useless. The pupil knows that his future is often decided by his failure or success in a translation test and he thinks and works accordingly.

I should like to end this article with an appeal to all those people everywhere who have a say in the constructing and administering of final school-leaving tests in foreign languages: 'Give us teachers a final test which does not bind our hands: which does not undermine what we have already achieved at the elementary and intermediate stages! Give us a test that will force every teacher—old or young, lazy or conscientious—to pay equal attention to pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and culture as well as the skills of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing!' Experiments in Britain and the U.S.A. show clearly that such a balanced many-sided test could be compiled. It could be done through establishing an International Language Testing Centre where language-testing experts from all over the world could work and experiment together on material collected from all possible sources. In such an atmosphere of international co-operation no one would snort at 'the Americans with their multiple-choice tests' or 'the British with their inevitable essays'. It would be necessary for the experts to consider all types of tests and the possibilities of developing and combining them, and also to discover new types of test. If this were done, the world could expect, in a few years' time, language tests that really measure the

candidates' overall control of the foreign language and consequently force the teachers to adopt the best possible teaching methods throughout the language course.

Language Without Words

MICHAEL WEST

AN ARTICLE by Byron W. Bender¹ on 'Pretences in Language-Teaching' and one by Sir James Pitman² on 'Communication by Signs' have reminded me of some experiments made many years ago in India. These may be of interest (or, at least, amusement) to language-teachers today, whether as a subject for further experiment or as a pleasant diversion from the customary question and answer lesson.

Dr Bender writes of the '*Pretence at the beginning that the teacher and students have no language in common*'. The fundamental problem in teaching a foreign language is of exciting a wordless idea in the learner's mind and attaching a foreign word to it. The ideal way of doing this would be by telepathy, as in science fiction; but, since that is not possible, the teacher has to use objects available in the classroom, or pictures, or actions. This procedure is fully described in H. E. Palmer's book, *English through Actions* (Longmans, 1959).

This procedure has three disadvantages:

- (1) It tends to produce an undue proportion of *teacher talking time*. A language is learnt by listening and by practising; but, as in acquiring any skill, much more time has to be devoted to practising than to observation of the model. In the oral lessons as indicated by Palmer at least 60 per cent of the time tends to be T.T.T., but usually more than that.
- (2) The range of vocabulary is necessarily rather limited.
- (3) The conversation does not take place in a situation, with the inevitable emotional tinge or feeling tone, but tends to be disjointed and unrealistic in the sterile environment of the classroom.

¹*English Teaching Today*, 1/2, 1965.

²*New Scientist*, 4 March 1965, and subsequent correspondence, 25 March, 22 April.

Is there any way (other than telepathy) whereby one might tell a story to the class and then silently project the successive ideas of that story into the minds of the learners so that they might reproduce it fully and correctly?

The thought of this problem brought back to me an incident which I observed when visiting the School for the Deaf in Manchester with a group of students. I came out of the room alone and one boy pointed to me questioningly. The other answered *One finger : Waggle all fingers : Show a square with his hands : Point with thumb over shoulder*. ('He's one of that crowd in the room we've just come out of.' The thumb gave the idea of past tense.)

I visited the small local School for the Deaf in Dacca (East Pakistan) to see if they had a similar sign language. The two teachers (one = sign of spectacles, and the other = sign of large abdomen) were very helpful and, among other information, they got a boy to tell me the following story :

Two men (*show two fingers*) lived (*move left hand quickly over heart*) in a house (*fingers making a roof*) near (*palms close together*) a river (*wavy downwards movement*). One man (*one finger*) took (*hands moved inwards*) his net (*criss-cross with finger*) and went (*walking movement with hands*) to (*point*) the river (*as above*). He threw (*over-arm motion*) his net (*as above*) into (*point down*) the river (*as above*). A crocodile (*elbows together, fingers as teeth*) seized his leg (*mime*). He shouted (*hand to open mouth*). The other man ran (*movement of hands*) from the hut (*hut sign : point to it*) to the river (*point : then river sign*). [After this a mime showed forcing open the jaws with hands and foot, and carrying the man back to the hut.]

The teacher can tell this story to the class, accompanying it by the gesture signs and making sure (with sketches or occasional use of the mother tongue) that it is understood. He then uses the gesture signs for *prompted recall*—orally, or, with a more advanced class he may give silent dictation.

This does not mean that the teacher or the class have to learn the sign language : the ideas are easily recalled by the gestures which were given when telling the story.

It is not difficult to invent one's own signs, once one gets an idea of the technique. There is, in fact, no standard sign language of the deaf : it grows up, against the wishes of the teacher, like schoolboy slang in each school; but pictures of 450 signs of the south-eastern British dialect may be found in *The Language of the Silent World*.¹ A visit to a school for the deaf and dumb is not only desirable, but also very interesting.

¹By Rev. Frank Goodridge, British Deaf and Dumb Association, 44 Palmerstone Road, Earley, Reading, 6s.

Jacques Barzun¹ emphasizes that good teaching of a foreign language requires some 'dramatic flair'. The use of gesture language, to be effective, may need some of this flair, and there are some teachers, especially in the Orient, who might find it 'undignified'. Moreover, it demands continuous activity of the teacher. He cannot leave the learners to practise by themselves.

We need some prompt which, written on the blackboard or on a big piece of paper, will serve as an aid to the learner in reproducing material which he has already heard. But the Second Pretence of Dr Bender is '*The pretence that the language being studied is unwritten*'.

The *strip cartoon*² is useful only in the later stages when learners are able to frame sentences for themselves: with beginners one needs to record not only the exact sequence of ideas but also the form of the sentence. One can use 'guide words' (a few key-words with dots indicating intervening omissions);³ but guide words assume a written language. Can we have guide words without words, the written skeleton of a story in an unwritten language?

The answer is *glyphs*. The United Nations in *International Co-operation Year, 1954* seeks to encourage the use of glyphs (e.g. traffic signs, hospital, toilet, radioactive, etc., etc.). 'Icograda' is a student project having a similar aim. These signs are not, but should be, internationalized. The Society for Experiment in Deaf Education is endeavouring to extend the range of the vocabulary of glyphs. Sir James Pitman in an article in *The New Scientist*⁴ doubts the possibility of this. But for our purpose we do not need to look to the future for a solution to our problem: it was solved many thousands of years ago—namely in the pictographic and ideographic symbols which preceded and led up to the alphabet.

Sir James points out that for purposes of *communication* it would be necessary to memorize at least some 800 symbols; but in our present instance the symbols are (as in the case of the gesture) used only as *reminders*, their meaning having been already given in the first telling of the story. And, since we are not communicating, it is not necessary to employ standardized symbols: it is not necessary for the teacher to acquire a compendium of Chinese or Semitic symbols.⁵ He may devise his own, as I did in

¹*Teacher in America*, 1946, pp. 30 ff.

²As in *Hard Ride and The Old Map*, and other books by James Hemming (Longmans).







³See my *Teaching English in Difficult Circumstances*, pp. 46 and 55.






⁴*The New Scientist*, 4 March 1965, and subsequent correspondence in 25 March and 22 April.






⁵E.g. see Driver, G. R., *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet*. Chambers's Encyclopædia I/289 ff. gives a number of examples, and so also any book on the origin of writing.






my experiment, and he may find much amusement in doing so. My original experiment is reported, with pictographs, in *Language in Education* (Longmans), but as that book is out of print I give here a translation of part of the gesture story into pictographs. In my original experiment I found it useful to use some conventions: a line under a noun showed plural; \leftarrow under a verb = past tense, \rightarrow = future; ' (apostrophe) shows possession or possessive pronoun; an asterisk showed symbolic meaning, e.g. \bigcirc = sun, \bigcirc^* = day, \bigcirc^* = yesterday. For a difficult word, e.g. 'lived', one might use merely the initial letter, although *sit** or *heart** might serve. There is a sign for *he*, but to save trouble it may be written.

Dots show omitted English words.

2    .   .  +
Two men lived in a hut near a river

1   ,  &  \rightarrow .  +
One man took his net and went to the river

He  ,   .  + . crocodile 
He threw his net into the river A crocodile came

 . .  + It  ,  + He  +
out of the river It seized his leg He shouted

As the teacher tells the story he writes (or points to) the pictographs on the blackboard. Then he says 'Look at the signs and practise telling the story, and then I will test you.' And, if they are able, they may then write it.

It would be interesting to hear if any teachers have found these ideas helpful.

What Qualifications do we need for the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language? (2)

R. A. CLOSE

SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS

APART FROM HAVING full command of the language and being able to teach, what special qualifications are required for the teaching of English as a foreign tongue?

To answer that question in practical terms we must first consider :

- (a) whether we have to work according to a syllabus and textbook prescribed for us ; or
- (b) whether we can, or have to, decide these things for ourselves.

The majority find themselves obliged to follow a prescribed programme; and rightly so. Teaching a language on a large scale demands a corps of instructors, drill-masters, and drill-mistresses supplied with a suitable ready-made syllabus, a textbook suited to the particular circumstances, and a manual advising them, even telling them, how to proceed. These are the people who get the job done, and it is up to others—including linguists, teacher-trainers, administrators, inspectors, and principals of schools—to see that his corps of instructors have the best available material and know how to use it.

It is of course highly desirable that the teacher in the rank and file should fully understand the principles on which his ready-made syllabus and textbooks have been planned. Even if that is not possible, we should at least be fully aware of the problems our pupils—their cultural background being what it is—will face. These problems fall into three main categories : phonological, lexical, and, to use the term in its broadest sense, grammatical. We cannot assume that knowing English, in the sense of being able to speak it as to the manner born, will make us aware of these problems. The average native speaker of English, including the best writers and professors of English as a mother tongue, have no idea what these problems are until they try to explain English to people whose phonological, grammatical, and lexical habits and concepts are quite different—they find to their surprise—from their own.

To deal with the phonological problems, a correct, clear pronunciation is essential: accuracy is no use without audibility and

clear enunciation. A good knowledge of the English sound system is also required, together with an understanding of the inevitably different sound system which every learner of English as a foreign language will have grown accustomed to use. Of the two—correct, clear pronunciation and a good knowledge of the English sound system—the former is of primary importance. The student will absorb much of the former unconsciously, whereas the latter will serve little purpose unless it is put constantly into practice in the teacher's own speech.

Knowledge of the English sound system entails ability to distinguish, in hearing others and in one's own performance, the significant differences between English vowel and consonant *sounds*. By 'significant differences' I mean differences in sound which accompany differences in meaning, as in *leave* and *live*, *bed* and *bad*, *hat* and *hut*, *heart* and *hot*, *law* and *raw*, *think* and *sink*, *vote* and *boat*. In order to deal with these problems, we should adopt a standardized form of one of the widely accepted varieties of English, and have a tolerant awareness of what is possible in other widely accepted varieties. It is best to use the variety to which we are ourselves accustomed (provided it is widely acceptable) and we shall probably do that unconsciously or otherwise, in any case. But we must standardize it for normal teaching purposes; it would be bewildering to expose the learner to a great variety of subtleties in pronunciation too quickly or to insist that our pupils adopt our own idiosyncracies. We may also, in teaching individual sounds, be well advised to allow our pupils to adopt an acceptable variety other than our own, if it happens to be more easily adaptable to *their* own tongue.

In teaching the significant differences between English sounds, especially vowels, I favour the idea of keeping in front of the class a table of key words, each word exemplifying a significantly different vowel sound, and of establishing the habit of identifying each single sound we make with the vowel of the appropriate key word. For this, teacher and pupil must distinguish, in hearing and speech, a precise difference between the vowel sound of one key word and that of another, and must be able to pronounce each sound 'correctly', i.e. in accordance with the variety of English we are teaching. Many teachers, including native speakers of English, may need a good recording of the pronunciation of the key words—a recording that will set the standard for themselves and their classes. In any case, whether one adopts the 'key word' method or some other, we should be able to give the 'correct' vowel sound in the many commonly-used words—e.g. *many*, *key*, *friend*, *law*, *abroad*, *woman*, *women*, *money*, *country*, *only*—of which the spelling is a misleading guide or about which there is often doubt as to the precise vowel sound to make.

In pronouncing every English word, in fact, we should as it were strike a definite note precisely, and be sure that it is the right one.

In getting these significant differences right, with the consonants as well as the vowels, regular drilling—*leave, live, heel, hill, wheel, will*, etc.—is very helpful. But it can become dull. As I. A. Richards reminds us, 'Drill kills'. We can make the language live by utilizing and emphasizing these differences in real contexts—at the early stages, in simple situations ; at the advanced stages, in our treatment of literature. Notice, for example, how effectively the difference between the *live, leave* sounds can be brought out in a modern pronunciation of the opening lines of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.

If music be the food of love, play on ;
Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,
The appetite may sicken and so die.
That strain again!—it had a dying fall ;
O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet sound
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour!

There are other sound effects that can usefully be accentuated in teaching those lines ; e.g. the alliteration in *excess, surfeiting, sicken, sound*, with subtle variations in *sweet* and *stealing* ; the assonance in 'That *strain again*' ; the gliding diphthongs in *again* and *dying*. Indeed, it is difficult to see how we can bring out the music of English poetry without consciousness of the very rich system of English vowel and consonant sounds ; or how we can give our students a full appreciation of the English sound system without illustrating it by good poetry spoken as it was meant to be.

Knowledge of the English sound system also entails conscious ability to apply the main practices and principles of English stress and intonation. We should certainly know (or be able to find out from a dictionary) on which syllables stress falls, or where it will come in a sentence according to context and meaning. With regard to intonation, we must be consciously familiar with the basic patterns ; but for ordinary teaching purposes we need not be able to analyse every subtle variation : we can in all probability give a better performance simply through listening often enough to good speakers of English, live or on recordings.

Indeed, gaining a mastery of spoken English—the words, the speech patterns, as well as the pronunciation—is very much a matter of listening often enough to good models. What 'goes in one ear' may, nine times out of ten, 'come out of the other'. But after the tenth time of hearing, or even sooner if the impression made on the senses is vivid enough, what has gone into the ear

may come miraculously out of the mouth. Ignoring explanations and embarrassing efforts on our part to force our pupils' vocal organs through unfamiliar gymnastics, their mouths will eventually speak what their ears hear—which is all the more reason for our own pronunciation being excellent. That is also the great argument in favour of learning by mechanical auditory aids, which can make an extraordinarily resonant impression on the senses. In any case, we as teachers should know enough about these matters to enable our pupils to speak intelligibly and acceptably, remembering that detailed analysis will be far less helpful to them than good models thoroughly absorbed into their sensory and nervous systems.

With regard to grammatical problems, we need to realize that a language is composed of a great variety of patterns which determine the construction of sentences and individual words ; and we need to know what are the characteristic and frequently recurring patterns in English. We must then realize the importance of practising the English patterns which are appropriate to certain situations and to the words the speaker decides to use ; and we shall have to envisage the learning of grammar as a question of developing the habit of correctly using the pattern appropriate to the circumstances—in other words, to envisage it as a matter of cultivating correct grammatical habits.

We shall also have to be aware of the particular distinctions or contrasts which English grammar makes, and the ways in which it expresses them. Some of these distinctions are obvious, e.g. between masculine and feminine, one and more than one, present and past. Others, e.g. the distinctions that determine whether or not we use the articles or the form of the verb ending in *-ing*, are less obvious, or they may be totally unfamiliar or seemingly unnecessary to speakers of a different mother tongue. Even if the same distinction is made in English as in our pupils' own language, the chances are that they will express it differently. This presents one of the most baffling problems in language learning, and both we and our pupils are strongly tempted to seek or create rules that will elucidate the mysteries. In some countries, the training of teachers consists very largely of instructing them in a code of rules of this kind. Now some usages of English grammar are easily reducible to rule (in the sense of 'statement applicable to all examples'), but others are not. Moreover, no rule is valid unless it is an accurate description of established and accepted practice. We need to know, therefore, how far and with what features of English it is possible to generalize, and how trustworthy in modern English are the many rules that pedagogues have passed on from one generation to another, or are still inventing. Finally, we need to decide on a sound rationalization

of these problems, bearing in mind that it will be at most a hypothesis but that some reasonable hypothesis or other is essential for teaching purposes. This will enable us to select and concentrate on examples which will best illustrate these contrasts and fix them in our pupils' minds.

The lexical problems are those that loom largest with many people learning a foreign language: how to pick out individual words from a stream of speech, how to tell exactly what they mean, how to remember their meaning, how to recall them at will. Here, we need discretion in limiting the number of new words; we teach according to the learner's capacity to take them in; we need skill in first presenting them so that they make the maximum impression and are directly associated, as far as possible, with real objects, actions, and pictures, in meaningful situations and contexts; and patience in repeating words previously presented, not so that repetition becomes monotonous, but so that the learner, in exercises, natural conversation, and reading, keeps coming across the words already presented to him. We need flexibility so that we can break our own rules and give a new word when the pupil is wanting it himself, even though it may be outside our programme: there is no incentive in learning a language so strong as *wanting* to say something in it. We need too to remember that one word may have several meanings. We must realize that the commonest meanings may not be those appearing first in a dictionary compiled on historical principles; that a word in English may not cover the same field of meanings as the word with which our pupils first equate it in their own language; and that each new meaning of the English word may have to be taught separately.

But what about method? Don't we need to know the 'techniques' of modern language teaching? Much of the method we shall require consists in presenting, practising, and revising, orally and in writing, the phonological, structural, and lexical features of the language discussed in the previous paragraphs, and in doing so through time-honoured techniques, such as demonstration, repetition individually and in chorus, question and answer, reading, copying, dictation and other written exercises, and oral and written tests. It would be a mistake to assume that English language teaching can be achieved by miraculous 'methods' or 'techniques' which could render the requirements so far discussed unnecessary. It is true that speedier results than before can be obtained through the use of recordings, language laboratories, radio, and television. However, these mechanical aids are the means not by which miracles can be wrought but by which certain desirable effects already discussed in this essay can be brought about more quickly and perhaps more lastingly;

they can impress the material we are trying to teach more vividly on the senses and can din it into the students' minds without their realizing what is happening to them.

In any case, the best method is the one that the individual intelligent teacher, principal, or inspector, finds produces the best results in the particular circumstances in which he happens to find himself. In language teaching, nothing succeeds like success. The learner is encouraged when he feels he has understood something more and has got something else right. The teacher feels satisfied if he brings the lesson to a close knowing that his pupils have mastered *something*, have mastered *enough*, that they did not know, or knew inadequately, before. And everyone should feel pleased if we get our pupils through the syllabus and through their examinations successfully: the thought of being able to pass an examination is, in language learning, a very strong incentive.¹

Those of us who are in the position of making up a syllabus, or of choosing or writing a textbook, for ourselves or for others, will need all of the qualifications mentioned hitherto. We shall need them all to a considerably higher degree, including the ability to teach. (The saying 'Those who *can*, *teach* : those who *can't*, *teach the teachers*' should not apply here.)

As well as that, we must, from a mass of material—basic, detailed, superficial, historical, out-of-date, or up-to-the-minute—be able to select what is essential for a language course. We must do that with two main principles in mind—the principles of relevance and balance.

We cannot assume that what is *relevant* or suitable for one set of circumstances, in one country, will be equally relevant for another set of circumstances, or in a different country. We must learn to plan a syllabus, or choose or write a textbook, according to the cultural background and mother tongue of the pupils who are going to do the learning, and according to the educational system within the framework of which we have to teach. The syllabus must be planned according to purposes, aims and objects, which vary enormously. Upon a basis suitable for all purposes and for English wherever it is being studied, our selection of vocabulary and even of grammatical constructions will depend very much on what special purpose we are teaching English for ; so of course will our selection of texts for detailed study and extensive reading. Above all, we must select material suitable to the grade of our pupils, their standard of intelligence and general education,

¹With due respect to those who argue that we should pursue learning for its own sake, I have found, with myself and with others, that working for an examination is a very good way to make real progress with a foreign language.

their capacity for learning English, what knowledge of the language they already have. We must be able to make their learning a graduated, gradual, and continuous progress.

Balance in English language teaching has been difficult to maintain during the revolutions through which the subject has been passing throughout the present century. From the very beginning of the present century, our ideas have been continually upset. We have passed through a period when phonetics was all the rage. Now it is phonemics. Thirty years ago, vocabulary selection was the magic phrase. Later it was pattern practice and graded structure. Grammar teaching of the old kind was abandoned in favour of 'the presentation and drilling of structures, or patterns' which linguistic pedagogy has tried to arrange (sometimes rather artificially) into a graded sequence. All of these things have their place. The difficulty is to keep them there, in balance and perspective. The important thing is to realize that what matters, after all, is meaning—other people's meaning that the learner wants, or should want, to understand fully and correctly ; his own meaning that he wants, and will often have, to express intelligibly and acceptably. We, as teachers, need to be qualified so as to bring the learner safely, soundly, and with as economical an expenditure of time as possible, to that end.

But is that the end? There remains one qualification without which many good teachers fall short of excellence and fail to make the best of their opportunities. I mean a cultural and particularly aesthetic sense that inspires us to feel, see, and create the rhythm and the poetic imagery that can be expressed even in very simple language ; a sense that warns us when phonemic and structural drills are becoming thoroughly boring ; a sense that transmits itself to our students and inspires them with the desire sooner or later (and not so late as many scientific linguists maintain is necessary) to read something in English that is real, interesting, and appealing to an intelligent and sensitive mind, and to go on reading. There is, in fact, no end : we should leave our students with the feeling not only of something achieved but at the same time with the knowledge that there is much more to achieve, much more that they would like to study and enjoy.

Changes in Present-day English (1)

SIMEON POTTER

WHY DOES A LANGUAGE change? A language changes because it is a means of communication between human beings whose ways of living and thinking are ever changing. Every single invention, and every new process in science and technology, requires the making of a new word, the reshaping of an old word by derivation or composition, or the use of an old word in a new sense. That is why dictionaries, great and small, must be continually revised and updated. Countless changes and variations also occur in pronunciation. Young people do not pronounce sounds, especially vowels and diphthongs, in precisely the same way as their parents and grandparents do. People in distant lands develop peculiarities not only in their enunciation of sounds but also in their intonation and speech-rhythms. But I do not intend to say anything in this article about vocabulary and pronunciation, although everyone agrees that some of the most remarkable changes are going on in these spheres. I suggest that we now look inward to see whether we can detect any changes in the structure of English. These changes are perhaps not so easy to see but they are no less interesting on that account. In many ways they are deeper and more fundamental.

OMITTING THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Have you noticed a tendency to leave out *the* and to use such expressions as 'going to university' and 'raising Bank Rate'? Until recently the university was not thought of as an institution like school, college, or church. Children go *to school*, *to college*, or *to church*, just as at night they go *to bed*, and just as sailors go *to sea*. But, until recently, they always went *to the university*. Before the year 1828 this could mean in England only to Oxford or Cambridge. Now, when someone says that 'Mary hopes to go to university next October', this may still mean that she will go to Oxford or Cambridge, but in fact Mary's university may be decided for her by UCCA (the University Central Council for Admissions) and she may indeed find herself at any one of those other twenty-two institutions of learning, apart from Colleges of Advanced Technology, that now hold university status. Language mirrors life. On the face of it the dropping of *the* seems a small thing, but it really marks a big change in the whole social life of England when 'going to university' becomes the right of every

qualified teenager, even as 'going to school' has been (since 1870) compulsory for every normal child.

The Bank Rate in Britain, now plain *Bank Rate*, corresponds to the Discount Rate in the United States of America. Raising or reducing (lowering) Bank Rate by only 1 per cent affects the whole nation's economy. It is therefore unique. It is no longer thought of as one definite rate among other rates of the same kind, and so the *Bank Rate* becomes plain *Bank Rate*.

You may have noticed that the definite article is also being omitted from the titles of books and periodicals. There are, of course, three possibilities: definite article, indefinite article, or zero. Jonathan Swift wrote *The Battle of the Books*, *A Tale of a Tub*, and *Gulliver's Travels*. He did not write *The Tale of a Tub* as is sometimes stated in textbooks. Noel Coward has named his autobiographies *Present Indicative* (1937), *Middle East Diary* (1945), and *Future Indicative* (1954), all three titles without articles. A few years ago *The Radio Times* suddenly appeared as *Radio Times*, and *The New Statesman* became plain *New Statesman*. Even more recently *The Spectator*, a title going back to Addison and Steele, has become plain *Spectator*. In August 1959 *The Manchester Guardian* changed to *The Guardian*. Will it suddenly appear one bright morning as simple *Guardian*? In titles and headlines journalists like brevity and simplicity. The shortest title of all is that of the new daily newspaper *Sun*.

DESCRIPTIVE TITLES BEFORE NAMES

Have you noticed a growing tendency to use descriptive titles before proper names? You hear and read of 'Ghana Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah' instead of 'Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana'; 'Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart' instead of 'Mr Michael Stewart, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs'; 'eighteen-year plumber's mate John Smith' instead of 'John Smith, a plumber's mate, eighteen years of age'; and 'young Lichfield housewife Mrs Brown' instead of 'Mrs Brown, a young Lichfield housewife'. Outside the three services and local government, the British do not use so many prefixed titles as other European people. They like to feel that they are human beings, ordinary men and women, first of all.

You probably know the general rule that attributive words come before the noun in English, whereas phrases come after. You therefore say 'a bright room' but 'a room with a view' (the title of a novel by E. M. Forster in 1908). You say 'a private room' but 'a room of one's own' (the title of an essay by Virginia Woolf in 1929). But now you hear and read expressions like 'an often-referred-to book' for 'a book (that is) often referred to';

or 'a middle-of-the-road politician' for 'a politician who keeps to the middle of the road and does not hold extreme views'; or a 'who-does-what dispute' meaning 'a dispute about which technician should do a particular piece of work in industry'. These prefixed phrases must be hyphenated to make the meaning clear in writing. In speech the meaning is made clear by the use of a different intonation.

MORE AND MOST FOR -ER AND -EST

Another change is to be seen in the growing use of *more* and *most* to express the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives instead of the endings *-er* and *-est*. This change is interesting because it is another example of that trend from synthesis to analysis, or from complex to simple forms, which has been going on for thousands of years in the history of the language from Indo-European to modern English. It shows that drift towards the invariable word which has gone to the very end in other languages like Chinese and Vietnamese. It is only a general drift. The old rules still apply. People still use *more* and *most* with adjectives of three syllables and more (*beautiful, more beautiful, most beautiful*); they still use *-er* and *-est* with adjectives of one syllable (*fine, finer, finest*); and they still use either with two-syllable adjectives (*lovely, more lovely, most lovely* or *lovelier, loveliest*). Today, however, the analytic forms with *more* and *most* are clearly gaining ground over the synthetic forms in *-er* and *-est*. Many people now say *more common* rather than *commoner*, *most pleasant* rather than *pleasantest*, and even *more true* for *truer* and *most scarce* for *scarcest*. Is it a passing fashion? You sometimes hear people talking about 'facts that should be more well-known' and 'the most well-dressed man in the town' instead of 'better-known' and 'best-dressed'. These are solecisms. They are harmless in conversation but they should certainly be corrected in careful writing.

SPREAD OF NOUNS WITH -S ENDING

Another interesting change in current speech is the spread of the *-s* genitive inflexion of nouns at the expense of the genitive phrase as in 'London's theatres' instead of 'the theatres of London'. Now this looks like a move in the opposite direction to the one described in the previous paragraph. That is true. In language, as in life, two contrasting changes may be taking place together at one and the same time. This *-s* form is sometimes called *possessive* in grammar books even when, as in 'London's theatres' just mentioned, there can be no question of possession or ownership. Nor can there be any thought of possession in

many old phrases like 'all in the day's work', 'to one's heart's content', 'out of harm's way', 'within a stone's throw', and 'at the water's edge'. Such phrases are inherited: they do not follow ordinary patterns. People say 'at the water's edge' in everyday conversation, but they do not usually say 'at the lake's edge' or 'on the water's surface' except in poetry. They say 'at the edge of the lake' and 'on the surface of the water', using genitive phrases when speaking of lifeless things and reserving the -'s form for living creatures. Thus they speak as they please of either 'Shakespeare's plays' or 'the plays of Shakespeare', but they normally speak only of 'the theatres of London' and not 'London's theatres'.

Today, however, this distinction is no longer strictly observed. You do hear people talking about 'London's theatres', and 'London's rush-hour traffic jams' instead of 'traffic jams at the rush hour in London', 'Westminster's Mayor and Mayoress' instead of 'the Mayor and Mayoress of Westminster', and 'today's weather forecast' instead of 'the weather forecast for today'.

EXPANDED FORMS OF VERBS

The expanded forms of verbs are used to denote that an action or state is either actually in progress or is vividly present in the speaker's mind. These forms consist of some tense of the verb *to be* followed by the present participle like 'I am going' beside 'I go', 'I was going' beside 'I went', 'I had been going' beside 'I had gone', 'I shall be going' beside 'I shall go', and so on. On the whole, *expanded* is a better term than *progressive* or *continuous* because we are here concerned primarily with form and only secondarily with function and meaning (including durative aspect). The differences between simple and expanded forms are best shown by contrasted sentences:

John plays football on Saturday afternoons.

John isn't at home; he's playing football.

Mary is now five and she goes to school.

Mary can't wait; she's going to school.

But these important distinctions are no longer strictly observed. You do hear people say 'John is playing football on Saturday afternoons' when he is in fact at this moment writing up his chemistry notes; and you do hear them say 'Mary is going to school' when she is in fact at this moment watching television.

Why is this? It arises partly from the growing significance of intonation in all varieties of spoken English. The differences of meaning (strictly aspect) between the two sentences in each of the pairs just given can be adequately expressed by intonation alone. It arises partly also from the growing tendency for people to

try to make what they are saying more lively and forceful. They lack the calm restraint of their eighteenth-century ancestors!

You were probably taught in your grammar lessons that verbs expressing mental states and activities such as *believe, forget, hate, hear, hope, imagine, know, like, love, remember, see, smell, taste*, and *understand* have no expanded forms at all. That is a useful principle to bear in mind. 'What do you believe?' not 'What are you believing?' 'What do they know of England who only England know?' not 'What are they knowing . . .?'. Nevertheless we now hear and read many expressions that no longer conform to this rule :

What is the Government meaning by this White Paper?

John is hoping to spend Easter in Switzerland.

We have learnt much from this document and we are all understanding the situation better now.

Grandpa is forgetting names nowadays.

You're surely imagining things.

One important use of present-tense expanded forms is to express immediate future time :

John is resigning from the post of secretary.

Our guests are leaving tomorrow early.

TO BE GOING TO EXPRESSING FUTURE TIME

There are several ways of expressing the immediate future :

John is resigning

to resign.

on the point of resigning.

about to resign.

going to resign.

The last of these is by far the most common today. Indeed, the construction with *going to* + infinitive is fast becoming the regular future tense in current speech.

We naturally think of time as past, present, and future. In older English there were only two tense-forms : past and present-future. That is why we can still use the present tense for future time : 'Tomorrow I'm off', 'Next Thursday I go to London'. The adverb or adverb phrase shows clearly that I am referring to the future, not the present. If I wish, I can say equally well 'Tomorrow I'll be off', 'Next Thursday I shall go to London', but I am then stating future time twice. Linguists have a special term for this. They call it redundancy.

Unlike some other European languages, English has never used suffixes as it might have done if 'I have to go', now expressing

compulsion or necessity in the future, had become 'I-go-have-to', and if it had after that merged into one word. Down the ages English has used the auxiliary verbs *shall*, *will*, and *worth*. As it happened, *worth* went out of use early, and so *shall* and *will* have been used to express future time as well as other notions such as intention and obligation. The difference between *shall* and *will* became blurred in colloquial speech when both were reduced in pronunciation to [ɪ] and 'I'll [aɪl] be there' might stand for 'I shall be there', expressing future time, and 'I will be there', expressing intention. Today 'I'll be there' is normal, but 'I'm going to be there' is often heard when the speaker is expressing a perhaps quite gentle intention. Here *going* has completely lost its former connection with walking as opposed to riding, swimming, and flying. In the statement 'I'm going to go' this shortest of verbs is employed as its own auxiliary. You may recall Dickens's witty description of Mr Pecksniff's horse in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844): 'He was full of promise, but of no performance. He was always, in a manner, going to go, and never going'.

Now this use of 'going to' (slang *gounta* and *gonna*) is much older than Dickens. We do not find it in Chaucer, but we do find it in Shakespeare. When, for instance, in *Measure for Measure* (III i 194) the Duke of Vienna, disguised as a holy friar, asks Isabella how on earth she can hope to save her brother Claudio, she assures the Duke that she is actually on her way to free Claudio from every doubt: 'I am now going to resolve him.' When, in the following scene (III ii 241), Escalus declares 'I am going to visit the prisoner', he really means not 'I intend to visit him' but 'I am now on my way'. The difference between these two meanings is slight and we are justified in assuming that *going to*, expressing immediate future time, is as old as the sixteenth century. In Shakespeare, however, it is rare. You will find not more than eight examples in all his plays and poems, whereas in Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1837) you will find 24 instances (nearly 4 per cent) of *going to* as against about 650 of *shall* and *will*. Later, in J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), you will find 75 instances (over 30 per cent) of *going to* as against 240 of *shall* and *will*. Very often, as already mentioned, 'I am going to' expresses a mild intention in the first person:

If it's fine this evening, I'm going to prune my roses.
I am certainly not going to put up with this any longer.

In the third person it may indicate the so-called pure or colourless future:

The forecasters say that it's not going to rain today.
That's going to cost you at least one thousand pounds.

INCREASING USE OF ANOMALOUS FINITES

In all varieties of English—British, American, and Australian—the anomalous finite verbs are being used more and more in everyday speech. There are just two dozen of them : *am, is, are, was, were ; have, has, had ; do, does, did ; shall, should ; will, would ; can, could ; may, might ; must ; ought ; need ; dare ; and used*. As we shall see in a moment, the last three show signs of being unstable and some changes are now taking place in their use.

These twenty-four little words, all of one syllable, are more widely used than ever before because

- (a) they, and they alone, form their negatives by adding *n't* :

You haven't the right qualifications for this post.

but You do not hold ...

not You holdn't ...

The children wouldn't stay any longer.

but The children did not wish to stay ...

not The children wishedn't to stay ...

- (b) they change places with the subject after an initial negation or its equivalent :

Never have I seen more lovely roses.

Seldom do I find time to swim in these days.

Little did he know that he was being watched.

- (c) they are used in simple questions :

Am I right? Were you there? Have you seen it?

Did you see it? Must I go? Ought we to tell him?

- (d) they, and they alone, are employed in question tags, both positive and negative :

We all agree on this, don't we?

We don't disagree on this, do we?

You will do your best, won't you?

You won't let the side down, will you?

It is now fashionable to use two or more anomalous finites in one sentence in order to produce special stylistic effects :

Unscrupulous officers can and do escape such duties.

We can, we must, and we should put an end to this flagrant breach of the law.

The number of entrants to universities has increased as the Robbins Report said it could and should.

National policy is now preventing the universities from developing as they might and could.

Sentence patterns hinging on these two dozen anomalous finites are stable for all except the last three : *need*, *dare*, and *used*. This otherwise neat list has a ragged or untidy ending. Like *be*, *have*, and *do*, these three auxiliaries also function as full verbs. Side by side, therefore, with (a) the normal patterns for anomalous finites, we hear people using (b) the normal patterns for full verbs :

- (a) John daren't risk it.
You needn't go.
Dare I take the risk?
Need they ask?
- (b) John doesn't dare to risk it.
You don't need to go.
Do I dare take the risk?
Do they need to ask?

The most untidy of all is *used* which few people, even the most careful speakers, now employ as a regular auxiliary:

Used you to go there?
No, I usedn't (used not) to go there at all.

More often we now hear :

Did you use to go there?
No, I didn't use to go there at all.

Sensible people regard 'didn't use' as substandard, though not perhaps so unacceptable as 'didn't ought' and 'hadn't ought' in which the past tense form *ought* is wrongly used as an infinitive. Nevertheless the latter was given wide popularity in America by its appearance in Bret Harte's poem *Mrs Judge Jenkins*:

If, of all words of tongue and pen,
The saddest are, 'It might have been',
More sad are these we daily see :
'It is, but hadn't ought to be!'

(To be concluded)

'If' (2)

H. V. GEORGE

Section B:

IN SECTION B, *if* is shown in contexts in which the verb-form is significant. The following meanings can be distinguished:

VIII on condition that (2)

IX suppose that

X (after *as*) in a manner leading one to believe that.

Before looking at examples of *if* with these meanings, however, we need to refer to two uses of the simple past tense form which have no past time meaning.

Here are three sentences: *Shut the door. Will you shut the door, please. Would you shut the door, please.* They all refer to the same time, right now. They differ in the degree of politeness, or modesty on the part of the speaker. The third sentence, the most polite, has the simple past tense form *would*.

After *I wish . . .* we expect the simple past tense form, or the simple past tense form *would* followed by a verb stem, if the time reference of the following verb is present or future: *I wish we had the answer to that right here. I wish he would help us.*

Such uses of the simple past tense form is called *modal*. The modal simple past implies something modest, tentative, indirect, or not factual.

In sentences with more than one clause, when the verb in the main clause has the simple past tense form, it is usual for the verb in a subordinate clause to have the same form, whether or not there is a past time reference. This phenomenon is usually called concord of tense, and appears strange to many foreign learners of English. Here are some examples: *I could tell from his accent that he was a New Zealander. Someone told me he spoke French. I did not know you were married.*¹

¹Concord is usual, not obligatory: one may also say *I could tell from his accent that he is a New Zealander*. If the finite verb in a subsequent clause has the same tense form as the finite verb in the first clause of a sentence, its finite verb may be called neutral with respect to time; if, however, the finite verb in a subsequent clause has a tense form different from that of the finite verb in the first clause, its time reference is significant. In the sentences which follow, there are examples without verb-form concord; the verb in the main clause and the verb-form in the *if*-clause being selected independently. An example has already been given, with *if* meaning *though*: *Even if Mr Sharp can quote chapter and verse to show that these points were included in his first book, I would still stick to my overall conclusion . . .* The writer wishes to

We see, then, that there are two uses of the simple past tense form where there is no past time reference, namely (1) modal (2) of concord.

VIII *If* meaning *on condition that* (2)

1. Many of the sentences already used to illustrate conditional *if* could be given alternative past tense verb-forms with no change in time reference. Here are some of them :

If you help me with this assignment, I'll pay for your coffee.
 If you helped me with this assignment, I'd pay for your coffee.
 I'll lend it to you if you (will) let me have it back tomorrow.
 I'd lend it to you if you'd let me have it back tomorrow.
 If you help me now I won't worry you again.
 If you helped me now I wouldn't worry you again.
 If you do that again I won't speak to you any more.
 If you did that again I wouldn't speak to you any more.

All the main clauses (*I'd pay for your coffee, I'd lend it to you, I wouldn't worry you again, I wouldn't speak to you any more*) refer to future time.

2. In each sentence, the use of *would* in the main clause makes the proposal or promise more polite or more tentative. Since the modal simple past implies something indirect or non-factual, we cannot always express exactly what the effect of this form is. The first sentence sounds more discreet with *helped* and *would pay*. The speaker of the second sentence seems more reluctant to oblige his friend if he uses *would lend*, and *would let*. The third sentence is perhaps more persuasive with *helped* and *would(n't) worry*. With *did* and *would(n't) speak* the person speaking the fourth sentence may imply that he does not wish to consider the 'doing that' and the 'not speaking' as factual possibilities.

3. A learner does not need to use this modal past. When he hears it or reads it, the important thing is that he realizes the time reference is present or future. The two sentences *If you come to the party you'll meet her* and *If you came to the party you'd meet her* are exactly the same in their time reference: in each sentence the party is a future event.

4. Here are some examples :

If he would identify the question-begging, I would try to deal with the charge. (The writer continues) If he will re-read p. 22

concede as a fact Mr Sharp's being able to quote chapter and verse, but wants to use the Modal Simple Past (Modesty) in the main clause: indeed, the suggestion of modesty is particularly appropriate in view of the concession.

of Comment 19 he will see that the remarks he ascribes to me . . . are in fact . . .

. . . it seems to me that he could be capable of writing fresh and original verse if the occasion demanded it.

IX *If meaning suppose that*

Of *if meaning on the assumption* that it was stated that we make assumptions which are not known to be factual and draw conclusions from them in the same way as we do in logical propositions: if p. then q. In such cases, we shall prefer to say that *if* means *suppose*, using *suppose* to represent something one imagines, or something one puts forward as a hypothesis so that one can consider possible deductions. Such suppositions include a modal simple past verb-form.

Things are as they are. Mr Jones, an American, married, with four children and \$5,000 in his bank cannot at the same time be an Indian prince, unmarried, with a bank balance of \$5,000,000. However, Mr Jones can dream, can imagine himself at this moment Indian, rich, and single. (He can also imagine himself Indian, married, and extremely poor.)

Things which have not happened have not happened. We can, however, put before ourselves the consequence of some supposed event or circumstance. Strictly speaking, such events which have not taken place cannot have a time reference, but excluding past and present we are left with the inference of a (possible) future reference.

Things which happened happened. We cannot alter the past. However, we can think of an event and imagine that event different; and we can try to guess the consequences in the past of such a different event.

We can, then, suppose situations that are unreal, events that have had no opportunity to occur, and events whose opportunity of occurrence has gone. We will deal in turn with such situations and events.

If meaning suppose that (a supposed situation).

1. The word *wish* is used to show that one is talking about something not real and at the same time desirable. A clause stating the content of the wish has a verb in the simple past tense form: *I wish I had a million dollars*. This wish, together with implied regret, can be expressed by an exclamation beginning *If only* . . . : *If only I had a million dollars!*

2. The consequences of the imagined possession of this sum of money may be stated: *If I had a million dollars . . . I would do no more work . . . I would live in Paris*, and so on.

3. We see that the verb-forms in this sentence with *if* meaning *suppose that* (*If I had a million dollars I would live in Paris*) are the same as those with some sentences with *if* meaning *on condition that* (*If you came to the party you would meet her*). How does one distinguish between sentences with modal past verb-forms, so that one can say that in one sentence *if* means *on condition that* and in another *if* means *suppose that*?

There is no single indication. The most general indication is whether there is a particular future reference or not. If there is, *if* may be taken to mean *on condition that*. For instance, in the sentence *If you came to the party you would meet her*, the words *the party* refer to a particular party, planned to take place in the future. On the other hand, the possession of the million dollars is imagined to be possession now. One frequent indication that *if* means *suppose that* is the use of *were* after *I* and *he*: *If I were you I would stop smoking. If he were here I would tell him what I thought of him.* (*if* meaning *on condition that* has *he* and *she* and it followed by *was* with a past time reference: *If she was there she will tell us all about it.*)

4. It is important for students to realize the nature of the statement which comes after *wish* and after *if* meaning *suppose that*. The statement is not a factual statement; therefore immediately we have heard the *if*-clause we can make a factual statement which is the opposite of the statement in the *if*-clause, or the statement after *wish*. Examples such as the following can be used for practice:

We hear:

If he were here . . .

I wish I were in Paris . . .

If I had a thousand dollars . . .

I wish he studied regularly . . .

We understand:

He is not here.

You are not in Paris.

You haven't a thousand dollars.

He doesn't study regularly.

With an adjective or adverb ending in *-er* (or preceded by *more*), or when the pronoun *more* appears after *if* meaning *suppose*, or after *wish*, we can usually deduce a factual statement containing the idea of *not enough*:

I wish I knew more
grammar . . .

If he worked harder . . .

If the holidays were
longer . . .

You don't know enough
grammar.

He doesn't work hard enough.

The holidays are not long
enough.

Similarly, when the clause after *if* meaning *suppose* (or after *wish*) contains the words *not so . . .*, we can sometimes deduce a factual statement containing the word *too*:

(*If I had not done that, . . .*), or an action done (*If I had done that, . . .*), and we may suppose the consequences of a changed past (*If I had not gone, he would not have seen me. If I had spoken a word, he would have been angry*).

10. The verb-form in the main clause has three words, *would have* and a past participle; and the verb-form in the *if*-clause (like the clause after *wish*) has two words, *had* and a past participle. The longer verb-forms enable one to identify *if* meaning *suppose that* for happenings which are not factual.

11. When an event is imagined to have taken place in the past, we can assume it did not take place, so that as soon as we hear the words *if* or *wish* followed by *had* and a past participle we know that the actual event is the opposite of the event stated:

We hear :	We understand :
I wish I had known.	You did not know.
If I had known . . .	You did not know.
I wish I hadn't seen it.	You saw it.
If I hadn't seen it . . .	You saw it.

The same information is implied by the verb-form in the main clause, *would have* and a past participle:

I would have gone, . . . if . . .	You did not go.
I wouldn't have done it if . . .	You did it.

12. An exclamation showing regret over a past occurrence (or **non-occurrence**) may be made with *if* followed by *only*, the subject, *had*, and a past participle: *If only I had gone there! If only he had not gone there!*

13. *Had* followed by the subject and a past participle forms an alternative construction to an *if*-clause: *If I had known . . .* and *Had I known, . . .* are interchangeable, though the second is generally supposed to be more literary.

14. Here are some examples:

Had any group of leaders at this meeting pressed for their own interests the tenuousness of the Commonwealth would have been obvious.

Yet none of this would have yielded up a single line of poetry had he not first loved an art form, mastered it, and then worked within its limits.

Had he chosen to keep aloof, he would have sacrificed his freedom.

If this had been so there would, of course, have been no need to establish the Office of Ombudsman.

15. It is wise to keep to factual statements and avoid constructions which imply information until one's knowledge of a foreign language approaches that of a native speaker. However, understanding implications is a requirement for general reading, or students take from their reading impressions opposite to the ones intended. All three-word verb-forms whose first word has a past tense form (except *might*) should be suspected of implication: for instance, the sentences *He should have done it* and *He could have done it* can imply *He did not do it*.

If (after *as*) meaning *in a manner leading one to believe that (as though)*.

1. *If* makes a compound conjunction with *as*. Often its meaning is *in a manner leading one to believe that . . .*: *It looks as if it's going to rain. He spoke as if he knew all about it.*

2. When the modal past form occurs after *as if*, there is often an implication of *leading one falsely to believe that . . .*, so that one can often draw conclusions opposite to the statements after *as if*:

We hear:

... as if he knew all about it

... as if he were a stranger

We understand:

He does not know all about it.

He is not really a stranger.

3. Here are two examples, the second without a verb following *as if*:

For Shouksmith goes on to write as if I thought that hostels should exist in a kind of harsh isolation.

... and form part of a web of 'influences' as if in a student's nightmare.

In conclusion:

The writer does not suggest that during a school course we should aim at productive use of *if* in all the meanings that have been illustrated.¹ On the other hand, school leavers who are going to encounter 'general' English are certain to meet with a large variety of occurrences, and it seems unreasonable to exclude from the course the opportunity for recognition knowledge of the very varied actual usage.

¹Most conjunctions have a wide spread of meaning, with considerable overlap, and minor shades have been omitted from this account. One which may be worth a passing mention here—though not in the classroom—is *if* meaning 'in the eventuality that' or, elliptically, 'if it happens that'. *Unless* carries the meaning of *if . . . not* in most uses of *if*; it is usually more forceful than *if . . . not*. However, when *if* means 'in the eventuality that', *if . . . not* is the only possibility: *If he is not at home, get the key from the neighbours. If I can't come I will let you know.*

The main requirements for a reader are responsiveness to the meanings of *if*, and to possible implications of modal past verb-forms. These can be dealt with without reference to clause and sentence—in fact, the basic uses of *if* can be dealt with without reference to a verb at all. The general feature of concord of tense is indeed seen in sentences with *if*-clauses, but any substantial number of genuine examples indicates that the verb-forms in *if*-clause and main clause may be selected independently, as the writer or speaker requires them. The examples quoted from the issue of *Comment* show 17 combinations of *if*-clause and main clause verb-forms.¹

We cannot hope to cover more than a minority of *if* occurrences on sequence-of-tense lines unless we are prepared to blur the 'rational' presentation. If we do this for the sake of a truer representation of actual usage, we have no longer any advantage from the sentence approach. If adequate coverage is wanted, there can be little doubt about the efficiency of starting with the simplest unit (*if*), including *if*-clauses with modal past verb-forms when they are introduced (for recognition knowledge) in the school course, and mentioning clause-clause relationships as part of the general phenomenon of concord of tense.

Weights, Measures, and English Idiom

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THE WEIGHTS and measures which are commonly used in British life are troublesome indeed to the foreign student, and that for two reasons: first, unlike those of the metric system, the units stand in no regular relationship to each other or to any natural phenomenon, and secondly, their expression in English is complicated by a variety of the idiomatic usages which tend to congregate around common topics. The first of those difficulties the assiduous foreign student can master by sheer memory work:

¹Extreme examples have been excluded. Here is one: 'If the electrician who comes to mend my fuse blows it instead, so I should stop having electricity?'

he will of course learn the tables of money, length, weight, dry measure, and so on that his textbooks are sure to supply, and familiarize himself with the rules for conversion into units familiar to him. If his interests are scientific, he will find the metric system in almost universal employment ; if he is particularly concerned with a specific trade or industry he will have to learn the special weights and measures used there, but in this matter he will be no worse off than the native speaker. But the difficulty caused by the existence of idiomatic expressions is one which hard study alone will not resolve, since there is little guidance available on the subject. These notes are designed to provide some general guidance to what one native speaker would regard as normal usage.

FAVOURITE UNITS

In most contexts, there is one unit which is normally used : to use any other would be to mark oneself as a non-native speaker at once, and so the first task must be to select the right unit, which I here call the *favourite* unit. But since, as we shall see in the next section, units are used in different ways, I mark each with A or B.

To begin with weight : many of the units in the tables are favourite units, for different purposes. The pipe-smoker will buy his tobacco, and the dealer in precious metals his gold, by the *ounce* (A) (abbreviated *oz.*). For normal household purposes, the housewife will buy vegetables, groceries, and dry goods, and the railway luggage clerk or the airport staff will weigh luggage, by the *pound* (A) (abbreviated *lb.*). Coal and such bulky goods will be bought by the *hundredweight* (A) (abbreviated *cwt.*) by the householder and in larger quantities by the *ton* (A or B). But if one wishes to speak of human weight, though the American uses *pound* (A), the Briton's favourite unit is *stone* (B), and for the weight of babies and very young children he uses *pound* (B).

The measures of length are also used fairly widely, though in differing spheres. The favourite unit for height is always the *foot* (A²) (abbreviated *ft.*), not the yard ; thus Mount Everest is 29,002 feet high and Ben Nevis 4,406 feet. Human height and other heights of the same order are also expressed by the foot, but this time by *foot* (B). The only exception to the use of foot (A or B) is for very small objects, where *inch* (A) (abbreviated *in.*) would be found.

For length, there are two favourite units, *foot* (A² or B) and *yard* (A) (abbreviated *yd.*). Of these, *foot* is used where the precise length of an object is not pre-determined by measurement, or at least is not designed to correspond to an exact number of the

units. Thus a boa-constrictor would be described as *thirty feet* long; this happens to be the length it has reached at this stage of its growth. A car would be described as *fourteen feet six inches* long; the fact that it is just so long is presumably the result of fitting together already-manufactured sections. So too the 'Queen Elizabeth' is said to be 1,031 feet long,¹ and the picture gallery of one of the famous ancestral homes might be said to be 94 feet long: both lengths are determined rather by the working-out in practice of the designer's ideal proportions than by the need to reach specific dimensions. *Yard* on the other hand is the favourite unit where conformity to a precise measurement is required: cloth, carpets, linoleum, thread are sold by the yard. All measurements outdoors for sporting purposes are made in yards; a cricket pitch is *22 yards long*; sprinters run for *100* or *220 yards*, and middle-distance runners for *880 yards*. *Yard* is also used for most outdoor purposes—visibility in fog, for instance, is said to be *ten yards*. *Inch* is used as a favourite unit only where small objects are being described—a mouse *three inches long*—and where bedding is being measured: the size of a blanket, for instance, is always given as *100 by 90 inches*. For width, as for length, the primary distinction is between the *foot* and the *yard*, with the choice depending on whether a precise conformity is demanded: but there are some further exceptions. For the width of roads and paths, the favourite unit is the *foot* (A); a dual-carriageway road is said to have *two forty-foot carriageways*. Small objects are again measured in *inches*: the width of cloth and carpeting sold from a roll is also given in *inches*, as is that of sheets and blankets. For bedsteads themselves, however, the favourite unit is *foot* (B). The foreign visitor may not often encounter this, but he should by now feel a certain sympathy with the poor English housewife. She has a room *sixteen foot four by ten foot nine*, for which she buys a carpet *five yards long by three wide*: she then furnishes it with a *four-foot-six bedstead* and mattress and a *three-foot-six wardrobe*, amongst other furniture, makes curtains after buying *twelve yards* of material *forty-eight inches* wide, and spreads on the bed sheets and blankets *ninety by ninety inches*!

For very small areas, the favourite unit is the *square inch* (A) (*sq. in.*): for indoor measurements, the *square foot* (A) (*sq. ft.*), and this is used no matter how large the building. Even the biggest building will be described as containing 50,000 or 60,000 square feet. For outdoor use, the *square yard* (A) (*sq. yd.*) is used: a garden would be said to contain 200 square yards, or a building

¹*Ten thirty-one or one oh three one or one thousand and thirty-one*: see my note 'Spoken English Numbers' *E.L.T.* (1953), 131.

plot 1,700 square yards. Larger areas outdoors are measured by the *acre* (A), and this is the favourite unit even when the size of countries is being given in standard books of reference. Alongside the acre for very large areas the *square mile* will of course be used—but often as a rough measure only : where precision is needed, an area will be cited in acres. The *rod*, *pole*, or *perch* has died an unlamented death, except perhaps among country people.

Virtually only two units of liquid measure are found : for household use and drinking, such liquids as milk and beer are bought by the *pint* (A) and petrol and liquids in bulk are bought by the *gallon* (A). Time will present no difficulties, as all units are equally favourite in contexts where they are convenient : *second* (A), *minute* (A), *hour* (A), *day* (A), *week* (A), *month* (A), and *year* (A) ; in this respect the units of time are unique. From 11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. would be described equally as *ninety minutes* or *an hour and a half* ; from 1 Nov. to 15 Dec. as *six weeks* or a *month and a half*, and so on.

The only other field to be mentioned is that of money : *pound* (B) (abbreviated £) and *shillings* (B²) are equally favourite, though they overlap mainly for sums about £2—*two pounds* or *forty shillings*. *Penny* (A) is used if necessary for small sums and *guinea* (A) for special purposes—the fees paid to professional men and the cost of certain goods, particularly suits and clothes made by a tailor, and the bidding at auction sales for aristocratic goods like *objets d'art*, racehorses, and so on. All these are reminders of the days when an aristocratic minority imposed its standards on society, and survive today principally because of the Englishman's sentimental attraction to the past.

THE USE OF UNITS

The fundamental difference between the two classes of units distinguished in the section above by A and B is that A units are found to be for the most part in colloquial use only in whole numbers and halves (and perhaps quarters), whereas B units are not found with halves and quarters, but usually with a whole number of the next unit lower.

The A class is much the bigger, since in the normal course of life there is rarely any need for exactness beyond the convenient fractions, and most measurements are expressed in round terms. We should say 'Your journey will probably take *seven and a half to eight hours*'; the distance between two places would be given as *three and a half miles*, though in fact it was between three and a half and three and three-quarters. We could buy *five and a half gallons* of petrol or *half a hundredweight* of coal. There is, however, one minor distinction to be drawn in this class: *foot*, distinguished

as A² above, cannot occur as a fraction without a whole number : we can say *half a pound*, *half a yard* but never **half a foot*¹—it must be *six inches*. And for three times that distance, *half a yard*, *eighteen inches*, or *a foot and a half* would be common; *one and a half feet* would be not impossible but somewhat rare. *Eight and a half feet* would, however, be not uncommon, though there is here clearly understood the implication that the measurement is not exact, only approximate. The same might be said of *stone*, which above is distinguished as B : in a context where only the approximate weight of a man was relevant, *nine and a half stone* would be possible. For the weight of a child **half a stone* is quite impossible, though since the stone is used in certain districts still as the normal measure of buying vegetables—in particular potatoes—*half a stone* in this context is normal.

B units are fewer in number : only *pound* and *shilling* are always in this class. It is never possible to say **five and a half pounds* or **three and a half shillings* ; but the correct idiomatic expression differs. We must say *five pounds ten* or *five pound ten* for *pound* ; and *three and sixpence* or *three and six* for *shilling*, incorporating into the expression an exact number of the next smaller unit. Since *shilling* is unique, it is described as B²: all other B units above follow the pattern of *pound* (£) ; that is to say *foot*, *stone*, *ton*, and for children's weights *pound*. Thus a lorry-driver could well say 'My lorry itself weighs *three ton five* and I had *five ton ten* of coal aboard, so I wasn't going very fast.'

Two points may already have been observed by the careful reader : the omission of the name of the smaller unit, and the possibility of using the singular rather than the plural for the name of the unit. We have already cited the housewife's room *sixteen foot four* by *ten foot nine* : this is as common as *sixteen feet four*. A mother might say of her children 'Sarah was *seven pound* (or *pounds*) *twelve* when she was born and John *eight pound* (or *pounds*) *four*'. For *stone* only the singular form is found : *ten stone twelve*, never **ten stones twelve*. Though *minute* is not included among B units above, I have heard athletes talking of running a mile in *four minutes twelve* (though not **four minute twelve*).

MORE COLLOQUIAL USE

When the social context makes it plain what favourite unit is to be expected it is often possible to omit the name of an A unit in ordinary conversation, and the name of the major B unit as

¹Throughout these notes, I mark by an asterisk expressions which would not normally be heard.

well as the next smaller one. If I drive up to a garage and say simply 'Four please' I am understood at once and served with four gallons of petrol; to the milkman 'Four please' means four pints of milk. I always ask for a *quarter of tea* and a *quarter of sweets*, meaning a quarter of a pound in each case. This morning I heard my wife saying, when talking of making a child's dress, 'I want *two and three-eighths of twenty-seven*'—that is two and three eighths yards of material twenty-seven inches wide. If a doctor filling in a record card with my physical characteristics, asks me laconically 'Height?', I can reply, equally curtly, 'Five five'—five feet, five inches; 'Weight?', 'ten twelve'—ten stone, twelve pounds. In any shop I might be given a choice between two articles, one at *three ten* and the other *three fifteen*—that is, three pounds ten and three pounds fifteen shillings, or even *three fifteen six*—three pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence. Notice that *three ten* differs from *three and ten*—three shillings and tenpence, and so ambiguity is impossible. In novels or plays of thirty years ago, however, one might come across the phrase *one eleven three a yard*, which usually meant 1s 11½d (one and elevenpence three-farthings) a yard. But farthings are now no longer found in our currency, and cloth is dearer than two shillings a yard!

There are circumstances when one cannot omit the name of a unit: in particular the name of a class B unit cannot be omitted if there is a whole number: it would be quite impossible for me—if I were seven inches taller and two pounds heavier—to answer my imaginary doctor's curt inquiry 'Height?' with '*Six', 'Weight?' with '*Eleven'. I should have to say 'Six feet', 'Eleven stone'. A proud mother might say 'All our children were very big when they were born: Sarah was *seven twelve*, John *eight four*, and Ann *nine pounds*', and the shopkeeper 'We have four qualities of tea: *five and six*, *six and eight*, *seven shillings* and *seven and four a pound*'. 'One make is *two ten*, another *two seventeen six*, and this one *three pounds*.' Nor can we omit pence when no shillings are mentioned: *one and six*, but *sixpence*, *eighteen pence*. The omission of a favourite unit in a familiar context shows itself too in telling the time, where we tend to think in terms of the five-minute intervals, marked on the clock, and say 'Ten past twelve; twenty to one'. But this form is only possible for the five-minute intervals: for precision we must say 'Twelve minutes past twelve; nineteen minutes to one; six minutes past four', at least in ordinary speech, though the clerk in the airline inquiry office, used to dealing with exact times set out in columns is more likely to say 'Twelve-twelve; twelve-forty-one; four-six (or four-oh six)'. He could never say '*Twelve past twelve; *nineteen to one'

In the same way there are occasions when an exact measurement needs to be expressed by class A units. On such occasions they must be used in full, with the names of all units fully expressed and plural in expression if appropriate. 'The length of the Grand National Course at Aintree is *four miles 856 yards*'; 'The train does the trip from Edinburgh to London in *seven hours fifty-two minutes*'; 'This packet contains *three pounds six ounces*.' Equally possible would be 'The Grand National course is *four miles and 856 yards* long'; 'The train does the trip in *seven hours and fifty-two minutes*'; 'The packet contains *three pounds and six ounces*.' If only a half or quarter of the smaller unit is included and MUST be used: *four days and half an hour*; *three gallons and half a pint*. But to say 'The train does the trip from Edinburgh to London in **seven fifty-two*' is quite impossible.

FORMAL USE

In formal use, the full expression for Class A units explained above is necessary (with or without *and*). Class B units too must be given in full, with the name of the smaller unit included: *five feet eight inches*, *six pounds twelve shillings*, *ten stone seven pounds*, but never **five feet and eight inches*, **six pounds and twelve shillings*, though *and* must be used, as for Class A units, if only a fraction of the smaller unit is needed: *six pounds and sixpence*, *five feet and half an inch*, *five tons and half a hundredweight*. Such formal expression is perhaps safest for the foreign student who is in doubt, but his command of English idiom will be more assured when he can remember in every context the right favourite unit, differentiate the two classes of units correctly, and make the further adjustments for colloquial usage pointed out in these notes.

The Audio-visual Approach in the Country of Comenius

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IN RECENT YEARS great interest has been shown in Czechoslovakia in new methods and new technical aids for the teaching and learning of foreign languages. Several centres concerned with the investigation of new methods and aids have been established, the Department of Foreign Languages at the Palacký University, Olomouc, being one of them. The staff of the department is mainly engaged in teaching students subjects such as medicine and mathematics, and not languages. Those who attend the courses in English, German, French, and Spanish are either beginners or intermediate learners. The teaching has two aims: (1) to give the students a good command of the spoken language, and (2) to teach them to read and understand, with the aid of a dictionary, special texts in their respective fields of study. Proficiency in speaking and understanding the spoken language come first.

The method used to achieve the first aim can be characterized as 'audio-visual', with equal stress laid on both aspects. The emphasis on the auditive (and oral) is shown in an extensive use of tape-recorders in the classroom and in various types of language laboratories.

In the classroom, the teacher uses the tape when he introduces a lesson by playing the comment on the new picture. The students are expected to guess the meaning of most of the new expressions. By eliminating the written form from this initial stage of introducing new expressions, we succeed in eliminating a good many of the mistakes in the students' reading later, mistakes which frequently occur if the pronunciation of new expressions has not been well fixed in the students' minds.

The teacher plays through an 'unknown' text or a story (containing only a small percentage of really 'new' expressions, the rest being words and phrases learned before but now used in a new context) and the students are asked, after listening to it several times, to re-tell the story or make an oral summary of the text.

A 'tape loop' (so called by analogy with 'film loop') has proved to be a very useful device in teaching and practising pronunciation. It enables the teacher to repeat the same pattern of intonation or the same sequence of words as many times as he needs

without having to re-set the tape at the beginning of the exercise.

Besides this, we use tape-recorders in language laboratories. For practical reasons we have built up three types :

(a) A language laboratory with sound-proof cubicles, a slide projector and screen, and a teacher's or technician's panel with four built-in tape-recorders. This type of laboratory is meant for exercises in understanding the spoken language (with or without help from a picture projected on the screen) and for practising reading aloud. The programme sent into the cubicles may be the same for everybody, or there may be as many as four different programmes, one from each tape-recorder. The teacher can overhear how the students are working and may record their responses. He can also speak to them through a telephone, either individually or collectively.

(b) Grammatical drills are performed in a language laboratory furnished with semi-cubicles with no sound insulation between them, where all students receive the same programme through their earphones. The teacher can again speak to them and check and record their responses. The programme for the semi-cubicles includes the usual types of substitution and transformation drills and is recorded differently according to how advanced the students are :

(1a) Three-phase reproductive drill :

Stimulus / ----- / ----- /
Teacher's response Student's response

(b) Three-phase productive drill :

Stimulus / ----- / ----- /
Student's response Teacher's correction

(2a) Four-phase reproductive drill :

Stimulus / ----- / ----- / ----- /
Teacher's response Student's response Teacher's correction

(b) Four-phase productive drill :

Stimulus / ----- / ----- / ----- /
Student's response Teacher's correction Student's correction

(c) In the two types of language laboratories described above, each cubicle or semi-cubicle is intended for one student only and each student works independently. The cubicles in the third type of language laboratory are designed for two students each and are used to practise items predominating in dialogues, e.g.

Stimulus : *The book is on the table.*

1st student : *What's on the table?*

2nd student : *The book is.*

Stimulus : *My sister learns English.*

1st student : *Who learns English?*

2nd student : *My sister does.*

Equal attention in teaching is paid to the visual aspect as well. Here it must be pointed out that the department employs a draughtsman and a film technician who work in close co-operation with the other members of the teaching staff. This makes it possible to design pictures and produce films which meet the demands of foreign-language teachers.

Broadly, from a didactic point of view, we distinguish four types of pictures :

(1) Static pictures, showing objects but no actions. These are used in the initial stage of foreign-language teaching to teach the names of the objects, various relations in space (prepositions and adverbs of place), and certain points of grammar such as *there is*.

(2) Dynamic pictures, showing various kinds of human activity. By means of these pictures new vocabulary is introduced and grammar drills are built up into more and more complex units of speech. This oral practice culminates in the full description of the actions in the picture. Dynamic pictures set the scene for the following conversational subjects: The Sitting Room, The Students' Club, The Family at Home, A Visit, A Student's Daily Routine, The University, The Restaurant, Shopping, A Post Office, Asking One's Way, Theatre and Cinema, At the Doctor's, Travelling.

The advantage of these pictures is that they constitute an 'organized reality', focus the student's attention, and let the student think of 'how to say it' instead of pondering over 'what to say'. The situations in the pictures are explicit and unambiguous, enabling the teacher to eliminate a great deal of translation and explanations in the students' mother tongue, which would otherwise be inevitable. All this is very useful if we deal with beginners.

(3) If, however, we teach a class of intermediate students we find that some of these advantages turn into drawbacks. We find that the pictures are a bit too explicit and offer little or no scope for the student to express his own ideas. This drawback is done away with if 'association pictures' are used. These may present a few frames from a serialized story and let the student fill in the missing part. For example, let us take a simple sequence of two pictures. Picture 1 shows a young woman entering a phone box in a street where new houses are under construction. Picture 2 shows the same lady coming out. The houses have been completed in the meantime and new inhabitants have moved in. This sequence offers ample opportunity for a lively discussion of

whether the lady was very talkative or whether the building was very rapid, what might have been the reason for this, etc.

Carefully selected photographs may form another kind of 'association picture'. The photographs (as well as the picture sequences mentioned above) should involve a contrast, which then becomes a starting-point for discussion. If we have, for instance, a photograph of a veteran car dating from the twenties, we may proceed from describing it to comparing it with cars and other means of transport used nowadays. The teacher lets the students speak and only steers the discussion and supplies the necessary additional expressions and phrases.

Both the picture sequences and the photographs are projected as slides on a screen. It is important, with a picture sequence, that all the pictures should be on the same slide, so that the students can grasp the idea (and possibly the fun) of it at first sight. These 'association pictures' are used in classes where the students have already mastered the grammatical structure of the language and now have to enlarge their vocabulary and to improve their speaking habits.

Special pictures are used to illustrate and to drill certain grammatical points. For instance, drawings depicting various qualities, usually in contrast, may help to drill the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives.

Another visual aid that we use is the magnetic board. It is based on the same principle as the flannelboard, but it has, in our opinion, additional advantages. It is made of a board covered with an iron sheet. Upon the board is hung a plastic sheet on which some scenery, a room, a street, and the like, is painted in colour. This plastic sheet can at any time be replaced by another with some other scenery. Through the plastic sheet people and objects cut out of paper, with little magnets affixed to the reverse of each, stick to the board and can easily be moved on the board to demonstrate action.

Film can also prove to be a very useful device in teaching and learning a foreign language. In our work we use two kinds of films :

- (1) Normal films adapted for teaching. These may be either instructional films showing the foreign country and its life (such as a film about London) or feature films containing interesting dialogues. Some parts of the instructional films and some dialogues can be cut out to make film loops (with a maximum projection time of five minutes). As the commentary in instructional films usually employs language which is rather stylized, i.e. not purely conversational in character, we must explain the commentary before the film is shown. The students have mastered a film or a film loop when they understand all the words and

phrases and are able—having seen the film or film loop three or four times—to comment on it by themselves, the sound track of the film being switched off.

(2) Special didactic film loops produced by our film studio. The most suitable projection time, having regard to the intake of the student's memory, is thought to range from one minute thirty seconds to five minutes.

These didactic films fulfil a double task, supplying the students with speech habits and dealing with selected linguistic problems at the same time. Let us take as an example a film loop showing an actress who is (1) laughing, (2) worried, (3) surprised, (4) sad, etc. The first comment can be purely descriptive: The lady is laughing, the lady is worried, the lady is surprised, the lady is sad, etc. Then the loop can be exploited to drill the question pattern of the verb 'to be':

Why are you laughing, Mary?

Why are you worried, Mary?

Why are you surprised, Mary?, etc.

Or negative imperative forms:

Don't laugh, Mary.

Don't be worried, Mary, etc.

Our aim here is not to make the student describe the action, but to make him understand the grammatical point which is being drilled. In our opinion, films cannot be considered superior to other visual aids, such as slides or magnetic board, and to replace these simple visual aids by film would in many cases be unnecessarily uneconomical. Such situations as a visit, ordering a meal in a restaurant, etc., are so familiar to any student in Europe that conversation on the subject can easily be stimulated by a simple slide. Film, on the other hand, is the most effective means of demonstrating the changing and contrasting aspects of reality.

Now let us show how the teaching process is organized. As a rule, a new lesson starts with projection of the new picture associated with it and with a playing of the corresponding text on tape. The text is based on vocabulary already learned and contains also the new expressions that are to be learned. It contains no new grammar. Then the teacher makes sure, by means of questions and answers and with the aid of the picture, of the student's understanding, and gives further explanation if necessary. This may be done in the foreign language or by direct translation into Czech, if this way is found more effective in ensuring understanding than elaborate paraphrase in the foreign language. Then following the phonetic and intonation drills and reading of the text, and finally the teacher and the students discuss the picture again.

New grammar is introduced by a brief explanation of the teacher and is first drilled on previously mastered pictures. When the teacher is sure that the students understand the new structures, that they can make the new forms and know how to use them, he takes the students to the semi-cubicles or 'double' cubicles, where, by further drill, the new structures become automatic. (The teaching in semi-cubicles and cubicles can also be conducted by a skilled technician, who uses the recorded programme prepared by the teacher. Drill in cubicles and semi-cubicles never exceeds twenty minutes.) Drills in new grammar contain no new expressions.

The basic picture of the lesson is then discussed again—at a higher level. To avoid the danger of boredom and to practise the new expressions and grammatical structures in different contexts, the teacher introduces different pictures dealing with the same theme. The same 'reality' is 'organized' in a different way. Now also the students can compare the situations shown in the pictures (e.g. a visit, booking rooms at a hotel) with those that they have experienced themselves, and talk about them. (They talk about a visit to relatives, coming to a strange place without having accommodation booked in advance, etc.)

The final stage of grammar practice is translation drill—short sentences to be translated orally and automatically from one language into the other.

The lesson is concluded in the cubicles. The students listen to the text again, read it, and memorize the dialogues. (Work in the cubicles is also limited to twenty minutes.)

The other aim of teaching—proficiency in reading and understanding texts which deal with the students' respective subjects—is achieved mostly by traditional methods, by reading and translating technical texts.

The audio-visual method as described above is considered, by the staff of the Department of Foreign Languages at the Palacký University in Olomouc, to be very effective in the initial and intermediate phase of teaching a foreign language to those who want to speak it. This method, however, cannot be dogmatically applied in classes of advanced students and of those with aims other than speaking proficiency.

The Teaching of English to Primary School Children in Italy

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THE TEACHING of languages to primary school children is still in an experimental stage, but there have been a number of interesting projects. Last year I took part in one in Ferrara, where a number of classes received instruction in English or French, and in this article I shall outline some of the salient features of my own work. I am now making other experiments and hope to give some information on these in a future article.

The keynote of my teaching method was that the children were constantly active and that whatever activity they were engaged in required total involvement. After a few weeks a high-pitched voice exclaimed 'We never do English. We do drawing, gymnastics, or singing.' The speaker meant to say that they never did formal grammar, which was correct. The children were so enthusiastic about what we did do that they even took the laborious scratching of *j*, *w*, and *y* (letters foreign to the Italian alphabet) more or less in their stride. The writing always related to some previous or future activity and so was part of the game.

I began by talking to the children in Italian on the use and purpose of learning foreign languages as children and when they grew up. I also got to know them individually and encouraged them to talk to me. But very soon I gave them a first experience of direct method teaching in the classroom: *What is your name?* Then, as an example: *My name is Helen. Helen in Italian is Elena.* Then returning to question the child: *What is your name?* *Giovanni? Maurizio? Paolo?* With the first one or two I had to repeat everything several times, add to the list of names, insert 'yes' or 'no' questioningly between the names. But they soon understood and were then helped to reply *My name is John*, etc. I gave them the English equivalent of their names whenever possible.

The next step was *How are you?* Acting out various ailments or aches and pains, I asked the children one at a time whether they had a headache, tummyache, toothache, earache, a cold, a cough, etc. When it became evident that no child suffered from any ailment, I turned to a particularly healthy-looking one and asked *How are you?* and elicited the reply *Very well, thank you.* The children grasped the meaning by direct method and were ready to repeat the answer every time the question was asked. They were asked

to draw a self-portrait and write *My name is* (fill in actual name). *I am very well. How are you? Very well, thank you.* The writing was done in class, the self-portrait being finished at home.

During subsequent lessons the children asked one another orally *What is your name? How are you? How old are you?* and then went up to one another's desks, asking quietly and writing down the results in the third person, viz. *Pat is eight and a half years old. She is very well.* Other details were introduced as a result of the children's questions.

The conversational direct method or question-and-answer periods were always broken up, as the children were never allowed to stay at one activity for long enough to grow tired of it. *Stand up! Hands up! Hands down! Hands on head!*, etc. First I did the exercises with the children, then gradually they followed the instructions without help. *Point to the window! Point to the door! Point to the desk! Point to a chair! Point to a pen, pencil, rubber, ruler*, etc. When they were able to do this quite easily I followed it up in the conversational and written work: *Is this a blackboard? Yes, it is or No, it isn't*; and finally *What is this? What is that?*, and *Where is the picture?* In the systems I have come across the questions and answers begin with 'What is this?' so that the child has to know the nouns before it is able to answer. I felt that by getting the child to point to the objects first, then getting it to recognize whether the noun fits the object and in this way preparing it to provide the right noun itself, I was able to introduce a greater variety, and more structures as well as reduce routine repetition and unnecessary strain.

As the gymnastics became more complex I brought a bag of sweets into the classroom and evolved a game of elimination. Whoever made a mistake or hesitated unduly had to sit down and those who remained on their feet when I stopped the gymnastics received a sweet. We continued with: *Point to something red, something blue, white, black, green, grey, yellow, brown*, etc. *Point to Richard, to Peter, to Anne, to Josephine*, etc., as well as constant repetition of all the sequences. Sometimes everyone got sweets; then they began to ask for a few minutes of gymnastics, saying that they did not mind about the sweets. This was significant, as the odd sweet was the only material incentive I ever gave them. I refused to give marks, as I explained that I expected each child to do his or her best and that eventually they would all be able to communicate with foreign children on the beach or in the mountains when on holiday, or even by correspondence. I did not find that the lack of sanctions of low marks or the lack of incentive of top marks lowered the standard. On the contrary, the exercise books were beautifully kept and the writing was for the most part meticulous.

The exercise books were copiously illustrated but I did not permit translation. There was the self-portrait to go with *My name is Pat*, etc. When I taught numbers and plural forms by singing *One man went to mow* as far as *ten men, nine men, eight men, seven men, six men, five men, four men, three men, two men, one man and his dog went to mow a meadow* there were many illustrations before all the verses were down on paper. The questions in the sequence *Is this a desk*, etc., were followed by the appropriate illustration according to whether the reply that followed was *Yes, it is* or *No, it isn't*. Sometimes I reversed the process, and instead of asking the children to illustrate the text, started off with the drawing, e.g. a picture of a spring day, and went round the class and formed sentences with the children to describe the pictures they had drawn.

Singing, drawing, listening to records, training for auditory perceptiveness even in gymnastics, predisposed the children towards creative group work. They did choral speaking as well as singing accompanied by gestures, mimed scenes, dancing, exits and entrances, stage business, etc., so that recitation with its choreography required the constant attention and total participation of each child. In this creative activity the children were hardly aware that they were reciting or singing in a foreign language. The text became an integral part of their personalities. This was equally true of the rehearsals and performance of sketches taken from everyday life. For these children, later to become secondary school pupils, university or technical college students, pilots, secretaries, hotel managers, waiters, shop assistants, etc., the problems of pronunciation, of which Italians are acutely self-conscious, had ceased to exist.

We put on a performance at the end of the course in which the various classes took part, and the overall theme was the one with which the course had begun: the purpose of learning languages—communication, understanding, and peace amongst peoples and nations. Class teachers and parents also participated actively in this project by helping with sets, musical accompaniment, and the provision of stage props and costumes. We began with a humorous sketch to illustrate the misunderstandings that can occur as a result of language barriers. The music and poetry, though in a more serious vein, was enlivened by the production and in a grand finale the performance ended with a lusty draught from a cup of kindness for 'Auld Lang Syne'.

Making it Real:

2. Streets and Houses

JOHN PARRY

WHEREVER THEY LIVE, going to school is a great adventure for young children. Getting up in the morning and putting on school clothes, walking to school and having to cross a road, entering the school compound and waiting for the bell to ring: all of these stages in the child's day are important and exciting. If the children are also learning a new language at school—English—then this too is an adventure and a sign to them that they are growing up. We can make use of this feeling of excitement in our teaching of English and help the children at quite an early stage to accept English expressions and responses as part of their normal everyday awareness.

Let us take the example of crossing a busy road. We can reconstruct this situation in the classroom or in the school compound. A space in the classroom can represent the road. The children are taught to stand at one side of the road, to look right and left, and to say: *Look right, look left, look right again, then cross the road.* When they have learned this traffic drill, they will know how to say something in English which is useful for them in everyday life. We must never forget the joy of the learner at being able at last to 'say something in English' and in this case the words have real meaning for them, far more real than *This is a pen* or *This is a pencil*.

Having taught the traffic drill, we must now expand the situation by putting some traffic on the road. The traffic may be represented by children holding pictures. Take several large pieces of cardboard, about 12 in. \times 9 in., and draw a picture on each.¹ The pictures should show the kind of traffic normally seen on roads near the school: a car, a lorry, a bus, a bicycle, a cart. It is a good idea to draw the pictures in outline only, and then let the children colour them. The children representing traffic hold one picture each. They walk down the 'road' in the classroom or compound. Two other children stand at the side of the road, Child 1 and Child 2.

¹Sheets of white cardboard can be bought from school suppliers, but teachers should not be put off by lack of funds. Shopkeepers receive many of their goods in large cartons. Old cartons can be taken to pieces and cut to the right size. If the plain side of the carton is brown, draw the picture on a sheet of white paper and then stick it on to the brown cardboard.

Child 1: Can we cross the road now?

Child 2: No. Wait! There's a bicycle.

The child carrying the bicycle picture passes.

Child 1: Can we cross the road now?

Child 2: No. Wait! There's a lorry.

The child carrying the lorry picture passes.

And this continues until the road is clear, when the answer is given: *Yes, we can cross now.*

This little conversation can be practised in two other ways. (A) We can use a picture on the blackboard. We can of course draw a picture of a street and of the traffic, but this takes a long time and we cannot really show the traffic passing. It is better to use a flannelgraph. *Flannelgraph* is the word used to describe a very simple device. We need a piece of flannel or a large duster made of cloth which is slightly fluffy, such as the yellow dusters that car owners and taxi drivers often use. We hang this flat on the blackboard. We then draw a number of pictures of cars, etc., on thick blotting paper—or we can draw them on ordinary paper stuck on to blotting paper—and cut them out. If we place them carefully but firmly on the duster, they will not fall off. By using this device, we have a picture that can be changed when necessary during the exercise. If we do our Crossing the Road exercise in this way, we can involve the whole class.¹ (B) The other way of practising this exercise is by using models. Let the children make models of houses, such as the houses where they live, and perhaps of the school. In a corner of the classroom, display the models on a table. Arrange the model houses to form a street, roughly like the street near the school. The children can make model cars and lorries to put in the street. In addition to the traffic drill, many other exercises can be built around the models. For example:

Child 1: Where's the lorry?

Child 2: By the shop. The lorry is by the shop.

Child 1: Drive the lorry to school.

Child 2: (Pretends to drive the lorry, moving the model.) The lorry is by the school now.

Making models of this kind is not very difficult for the children and it need not be expensive. Shopkeepers often throw away old

¹The flannelgraph can be used for many different exercises. For example: a good exercise involves three pictures: a coconut palm, a coconut, and a boy. We put the palm on the flannel first and ask the children what it is. *It's a tree. Yes, it's a tree. And there's a coconut on the tree.* And we put the coconut on the tree, leading on to the boy arriving, seeing the coconut, climbing the tree, and so on.

boxes and cartons, and these can be used for making the houses. Matchboxes and other small boxes can be used for cars. The educational value of models is enormous. A model street with houses will help the children to think about life around them and to talk about it. Basing English drills on the models not only links English teaching to an activity which the children find exciting; it also helps the teacher to establish the essential link between language learning and real life. The early stages of learning English in the first and second year of the primary school are perhaps the most important, for it is here that we can help children to begin to think of English as one of the normal languages of their own lives.

Some Problems of English in Western Nigeria

A. AFOLAYAN

THE RECOGNITION by linguists, particularly British linguists with Firthian ideas, that a language is a social act and that the 'object of linguistic analysis . . . is to make statements of meaning so that we may see how we use language to live' has some cross-cultural implications for the teaching of English (or any language for that matter) as a second language. Unfortunately these implications have not hitherto been fully examined.¹ Yet it seems to be true that the degree of adequacy and effectiveness of any teaching of English as a second language would largely be proportionate to the degree in which the teaching programme is based on such an examination. Where it has not been made, the danger is that the effective use of English learnt as an international language will be greatly impaired. This would lead to situations in which two so-called English speakers would believe

¹This failure is nobody's fault. It is mainly due to the newness of the attempt to apply linguistic sciences to language teaching and to the lack of indigenous linguists specializing in the mother tongues of second-language learners as well as in the language taught. After all, in this regard a native speaker's intuition is as important for, say, Yoruba linguists who are native speakers of Yoruba as for English linguists who are native speakers of English.

that they referred to the same thing with the same word when the reverse was true. And this might have disagreeable consequences. Take, for instance, the story of a student at a college in Western Nigeria. When his uncle died a telegram was sent to him: 'Father died, come home.' He showed the telegram to the principal, who sympathized with him and allowed him to go home immediately. Three years later his father did indeed die. The boy received a similarly worded telegram. He took it again to the principal, who immediately thought the boy was up to some trick. In fact, of course, it was quite natural for a Yoruba boy to refer to any male relative, whether on his mother's or his father's side, as his father, provided that he was at least as old as his real father.

This article is not, of course, concerned with an examination of family terms like *father* and *uncle*. Further, the effect of this type of language is not always as immediate as in this case. It is, however, true that even in subtler situations the danger of both parties forming a wrong impression of each other is no less.

The main thesis of the brief discussion that follows is that the cultural background of a second-language learner may so strongly affect his own use of certain English words and collocations that his English may become very odd indeed, and sometimes with tragic or, at best, unpleasant consequences. The items¹ selected for this discussion are *No*, *Yes*, *Please*, and *Thank you* (with its variant *Thanks*), and their possible combinations in present-day English usage in Britain and Western Nigeria.² As a full survey of present-day usage of these items in both places is neither necessary for such an article as this nor pertinent to the main theme, we shall concentrate only on areas of difference, particularly as they touch on questions of politeness and gratitude. If this short discussion serves to focus attention on this type of problem, the discussion will have served its purpose.

Significant deviations from present-day standard British usage of *yes* and *no* are found in two aspects of using *yes* and *no* to answer questions. The first involves a negative element in the question, which is expressed either as a negative statement said in a questioning tone or as such a statement followed by a tag question, e.g. *Your father is not in?* or *Your father is not in, is he?* If the father is not in, the common answer would be *Yes* or *Yes, he is*.

¹The suggestion that I might write an article on these items was made to me by Prof. Randolph Quirk of University College, London, who has also been kind enough to read through the draft of this article and make some valuable suggestions. However, whatever faults may be found in it now are the present writer's.

²Most likely Western Nigeria as here illustrated represents the whole of Nigeria or even perhaps a larger area, such as the whole of English-speaking West Africa.

not in. If the father is in, the answer would be *No* or *No, he is in*. The second aspect concerns the relative social status of the people involved in such a dialogue. Yoruba culture demands that one must show respect in addressing somebody of a higher social status. The principal factor determining one's social status is age. It is interesting to note, for example, that, even in questioning, a young boy would be thought very rude to ask an adult, for example, *Is your father in?* He would be expected to ask *Is Papa in?* This is an attempt to keep as strictly as possible to the spirit behind the Yoruba manner of asking such a question. Next to age comes one's station in life. Thus if it were a young pupil being asked a question by his teacher the pupil would be expected to add a note of courtesy to his *yes* or *no*. As the use of intonation to show politeness is not taught in schools, *sir* is the usual addition. But with the coming of independence and the notion that *sir* suggests 'servitude', some combinations of *yes* or *no* with *please* (which would sound odd, if not misleading, to British people) can be heard. Such combinations are common among people who are in, or have been to, Britain and have learnt that the English people do not use *sir* in similar situations.

Of course, there is still an odd situation in which *sir* only is always combined with *yes*. And that concerns the usual English greetings said at different times of the day. In such a situation the Western Nigerian, particularly the young learner, is not happy (he feels abrupt and impolite) unless he adds this combination after the normal exchange of greetings in English, e.g.

Pupil: Good morning, sir.

Teacher: Good morning.

Pupil: Yes, sir.¹

Apart from the fact that the pupil's use of *sir* is un-English (not a question of servitude but of usage), the second reply is peculiar. And this peculiarity arises from a transfer from normal Yoruba usage, e.g. (a) between father and son:

Son: E karɔ, baba mi /ε karɔ baba mi/ (Good morning, my father).

Father: Karɔ o, Akande /karɔ o akāde/ (Good morning, Akande. Note that Akande is the type of Yoruba proper name reserved for this type of occasion).

Son: O /o/ (said as two syllables on a low tone followed by a mid-tone in reply to a greeting).

¹Mr J. Carnochan of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, told me of his experience with a Mid-Western Nigerian boy who constantly used *Thank you* instead of *Yes* in this situation.

(b) later at school between the same boy and his teacher:

Pupil: Ẹ karo, sa /ε karo sa/ (Good morning, sir. Note the introduction of *sir* from English to Yoruba as *sa*).

Teacher: Karo o /karo o/ (Good morning).

Pupil: Yesa /jesa/ (Yes, sir—introduced into Yoruba from English).

To make the situation more complicated *please* is not always used where British people would use it to show politeness. *Please* is commonly regarded as the English equivalent of Yoruba *jowo* /dʒɔwɔ/ (two syllables said with a low tone and a high tone respectively) or *dakun* /dakū/ (two syllables said with a high tone and a mid-tone respectively). Incidentally you can show politeness in Yoruba without using either of these two words. The form of your personal (second) pronoun—the ‘majestic plural’ form, ‘e’ /ε/ which is the shortened form of ‘enyin’ /ɛjɪ/ instead of ‘iwo’ /iwo/—would serve. But in English you have got to keep *please*, since present-day *you* adds no element of politeness or indication of social status as it did in earlier English. And since in many situations (for example, asking someone to hand you something) the Yoruba speaker usually shows politeness by his choice of pronoun, he does not often add *please* when he makes such a request in English. His *please* is always, not occasionally as in British English, a polite plea for something and never just a mark of politeness, as it often is in British English.

While in Western Nigeria other senses of *please* in standard English are normal, the expression *Please yourself*, used to show a concession of latitude to the other in British English, is almost entirely absent. The expression seems to be equated with the colloquial Yoruba ‘Te fe’ /tε fε/ which, though it literally means *please yourself*, has a note of defiance (meaning ‘Do the worst you could’). Thus the average Western Nigerian usually associates *please yourself* with a defiant challenge and would be at a loss if a British friend introduced this expression into a friendly discussion; for example, an invitation to tea.

Thank you does not present a happier picture. It is very rarely found collocating with *no* or *yes*, as it often does in British English. This peculiarity seems to be due to the transfer of the practice in Yoruba to English. For example, the Yoruba child is not brought up to combine the Yoruba equivalent of *thank you* with *yes* or *no* if asked at table whether he would like more food. He usually nods approval or shakes his head to show disapproval. He may accompany his gesture with a *yes* or *no*. So when he grows up to use English he does not often combine *thank you* with *yes* or *no* in such circumstances.

Perhaps the most significant evidence of the transfer of

Yoruba practice to English is the fact that *thank you* is used to show only genuine gratitude or appreciation. Therefore in all situations where British people would use it to show only politeness it would not occur in Western Nigerian English. For example, after such a common action as a wife's handing of the salt to her husband at table it would not be heard at all. A further complication is introduced by the differences in meaning expressed by different intonation patterns in British English. This use of intonation is absent in Western Nigerian English. Thus when the average Yoruba first comes into a British community he runs the risk of being regarded as rude, the very opposite of what his parents have strictly trained him to be and what those who knew him in the Nigerian community regard him. Of course, the Western Nigerian use of intensifiers to show the degree of gratitude may come to his rescue. For one of the peculiarities of his use of *thank you* is the increase in the number of *very's* collocating with it according to the intensity of his feelings of gratitude. Another peculiarity is that the usual acknowledgement of thanks is *Don't mention it* (or without the *it*). *Not at all*, which is very common in British English, is extremely rare. And one other peculiarity is the possible combination of *yes* or *no* with *please* and *thank you* to produce something like *No, please, thank you*, which was heard recently from a Western Nigerian in a restaurant. Needless to say, the British waitress did not know what to make of this odd answer.¹

It is interesting to note that *thanks* with all its possible expansions as an alternative to *thank you* is not common at all in Western Nigeria. And *I thank you* instead of the aphetic *Thank you* is as common in Western Nigeria as it is rare in Britain. Perhaps these usages are best explained only as examples of what marks Western Nigerian English as conservative and literary. Similarly, the British use of *to give thanks* and *to return thanks* to refer to prayer before and after a meal is not common. Almost the only expression is *Let us pray*.

How relevant is this discussion to English teaching? It is fundamentally relevant to the adequacy and effectiveness of an English language-teaching programme in a multilingual country like Nigeria, where English is a second language that serves both as a national and an international medium. Two reasons could be given for this assertion. Firstly, there has not been any deliberate attempt on the part of Western Nigerians to create a Western Nigerian English, necessarily different from Standard English. Rather there has been an attempt to use Standard English to live. Secondly, the deviations discussed cannot be written off simply

¹He used *please* to express politeness and *thank you* to express his gratitude at being asked if he wanted another cup of tea.

as the effects of bad methods of teaching. To illustrate this point, one could recall what has happened in Nigeria about two very common deviations in usage pointed out by a British education officer, E. A. L. Gaskin, over ten years ago. One is the use of *no* with a positive answer and *yes* with a negative answer referred to earlier in this discussion. The other is the use of *How do you do*. These two deviations were pointed out among many others for eradication. The fact that such deviations were subsequently made the subject of examination in Nigeria led to an effort being made to drill them out of existence. What is the situation today? Almost every Western Nigerian user of English 'knows' the correct Standard English usage. But, whenever he is entirely off his guard and particularly when using *no* or *yes* as a full sentence substitute, he relapses to the deviation. However, relapse to the wrong use of the equally common *How do you do* is not half as common as relapse in the *yes* or *no* usage. Why? The present writer would explain this in terms of the degree of influence of Yoruba culture on the Yoruba-speaker's English usage. And for further comparison one may cite another common deviation pointed out by Mr Gaskin. This is *many advices*, which is very rare now except in the work of pupils in primary or lower secondary schools. It is very interesting to note that while deviations like *many advices* have no Yoruba cultural habit (only the linguistic principle of analogy) to encourage their use, the other two types have. Both deviations have arisen from taking the usages as equivalent of Yoruba expressions¹—*How do you do* being an equivalent of the Yoruba greeting asking after one's health or affairs, and the *yes* or *no* being equivalents of Yoruba 'beni' /beni/ and 'bẹkọ' /bẹkọ/. The wrong use of *How do you do* is no longer very common, but is not as rare among adults as *many advices*, because other English expressions, e.g. *How are you* and *How are things* are available to express the normal Yoruba greetings. Thus the Yoruba cultural and linguistic habit is not as strong in this usage as it is in the other. The *yes* or *no* usage is entirely the opposite of the normal Yoruba cultural habit of expression. Hence it often proves too strong to be successfully resisted in the most natural linguistic situations.

¹If these deviations and many others are, as they are very likely to be, common to Nigeria or perhaps West Africa, then (as the present writer would suggest) detailed comparative linguistic studies would most likely reveal some parallelism of usage among the Nigerian or West African languages spoken by people having the same linguistic deviational tendency.

Teaching English in Europe:

3. English Language Studies

in Norway

TØNNES SIREVÅG

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A STUDENT of the history of education in Norway cannot fail to trace the influence of the continental tradition, which, largely owing to the German or Lutheran Reformation, has left its imprint in the northern countries. English language-teaching is not old in Norway. Its beginnings are closely connected with the nineteenth-century revival of Norwegian trade and shipping. As the author of a textbook wrote in 1844: 'Only the merchant, the sailor, and the mechanic study this language, on account of its practical utility . . . English is, as it were, banished from all learned, that is, all the public schools . . . However, there is some reason to hope that a change for the better may be expected.' This change was effected a few years later by the great Norwegian school reformer Hartvig Nissen, and English began to be taught in some of the grammar schools. Among the first 'learned schools' to admit English as an optional subject was Stavanger: and its famous pupil Alexander L. Kielland, the novelist, who matriculated in 1867, availed himself of the opportunity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Norwegian public secondary schools had for their sole object the preparation of students for the university, and the object of the university was largely to provide a professional training in accordance with the demands of the government services. This old 'learned school' was classical, with German and French as modern languages. The classical versus modern studies controversy and the growing demand for a more democratic secondary education of a general kind and of a higher standard led, however, in Norway as elsewhere, to the introduction of modern languages and science subjects into the school system.

The important historical dates in Norwegian general secondary education are 1869, 1896, 1935, 1959, and 1964.

The Education Act of 1869 established a public secondary school, intended both to provide a general education and to prepare students for the university. Among the new subjects was English. The really new thing about the school system of 1869 was the 'middle school', which had an English and a Latin 'line'.

German was the first foreign language for all; Latin was taken by those who wanted to go on to the *classical gymnasium* and the university. English was taken by those (then a minority) who planned to pass on to the university through the new *realgymnasium*, and by the many who did not go on to the university. A number of towns established middle schools without the superstructure of the *gymnasium*. The result was that people with a good, but not university, education had a fair knowledge of German and English, whereas the academic world up to 1900 was practically without knowledge of English, having instead Latin, German, and French (and possibly an insignificant amount of English as an optional subject). Thus we got, roughly, an academic classical culture closely linked with Germany, and a general middle class culture that had closer ties with the English-speaking world.

As a result of the introduction of English as a school subject in the national system, the University of Oslo had to reorganize its Faculty of Philology, founded in 1824, so as to include modern languages, and the first Norwegian Professor of English, Johan Storm, was appointed in 1873.

By the Education Act of 1896, English was made a compulsory subject in all secondary schools as a second foreign language; the middle school became entirely non-classical, and a modern language side—which in its turn came to be called the 'English line'—devoting a comparatively large amount of time to English studies, was established as an equivalent to the *classical gymnasium*.

By the Education Act of 1935 English was made the first foreign language, as a result of its introduction into the last two years of the primary school course (at the age of 12+). Thus, for the first time in Norwegian educational history, the teaching of the rudiments of English in the state schools became the responsibility of the primary school.

An Act of 1959, concerning the basic school, made English a compulsory subject for all children in the new nine-year school from the fifth class (age 11). Although the nine-year school has not yet been implemented for more than 25 per cent of the population in compulsory schools, English is taught to the great majority of 12-14-year-olds.

The educational systems of 1869, 1896, 1935, and 1959 (1964) may be summarized roughly as follows:

1869: Primary school 3 years, Middle school 6 years, Gymnasium 3 years.

1896: Primary school 5 years, Middle school 4 years, Gymnasium 3 years (from about 1920: 7, 3, 3).

1935: Primary school 7 years, Realskole 3 years or Gymnasium 5 years.

1959 (1964). Basic school 9 years (1959), Gymnasium 3 years (1964).

II

Since the beginning of the twentieth century the world has seen an unprecedented increase in the population of institutions of post-primary education. In Norway the extent of that increase is perhaps even more noticeable than in most west European countries. Thus the yearly number of examinees at the middle school examination, upwards of 500 in the 1870's and rather less than 2,000 in 1900, rose to about 5,000 in the 1920's and to about 8,000 in the 1930's, i.e. to approximately 15 per cent of all Norwegian 17-year-olds. At the same time the yearly number of examinees at the end of the *gymnasium* course, taking the *examen artium*, under a hundred in the 1870's and rather less than 400 in 1900, increased to more than 2,000 in the 1920's and to about 3,000 in the 1930's, i.e. to approximately 5 per cent of all Norwegian 20-year-olds. In the 1940's the examinee figures of the Norwegian *gymnasium* increased to about 6,000. The post-war years have swelled the yearly output of the *realskole* (middle school) and the *gymnasium* to about 30 per cent of the 17-year-olds and about 20 per cent of the 19-year-olds respectively. The basic nine-year school, which is compulsory for all 7-16-year-olds, replacing the *realskole*, is likely to stimulate an ever further increase in the population of the *gymnasium* as well as of establishments for technical, vocational, or continued general education. The inflation of the *examen artium* figures has, quite naturally, led to a rush for enrolment in institutions of higher learning.

The number of examinees for the modern language papers (chief subject English) has shown an even greater proportional increase. Under the 1869 Act the annual percentage of examinees on the 'English line' of the middle school rose from about 70 in the 1870's to more than 90 in the 1890's, and the percentage of examinees on the science side of the *gymnasium* increased simultaneously from 16 to 60. Under the 1896 Act, which made the middle school non-classical, the shifts in the *gymnasium* population may be given as follows: Before 1920 40-50 per cent were candidates in Science, about 30 per cent in Classical Studies, and 20-30 per cent in Modern Languages. Since 1920, however, the number of classical candidates has dwindled, whereas the number of candidates for the modern language papers has considerably increased. The proportions for the 1960's are so far:

Science and Mathematics rather more than 50 per cent, Modern Languages rather more than 40 per cent, Classical Studies 3 per cent.

Thus, for the last two generations, English has been taught as a compulsory foreign language to the whole Norwegian general secondary school population. It is now taught to all pupils in the new basic nine-year school from the fifth class (age 11), and to a majority of the pupils in the old elementary seven-year school from the sixth class (age 12). It is a regular feature in technical and vocational education, in further general education, e.g. in Folk High Schools, and, of course, in teacher education.

III

The English course in the Norwegian general education system now lasts six (or five) years for examinees in the *realskole* and in the nine-year school, seven years for examinees on the science and classical sides of the *gymnasium*, and eight for examinees on the modern language side and in the economics *gymnasium*. Four to eight periods of the thirty-six period week are devoted to English.

The English course in technical and vocational schools will be geared to the general aims of the school or course concerned, and will vary in length and weekly hours, averaging four weekly periods. In teacher-training colleges the total of the English hours is 10 (four-year course) or 20 (two-year course for teachers of English, based on the Examen Artium).

An examination in English is normally held at the end of the basic school years (old system seven years, new system nine years).

Although in some areas a qualifying examination (including English) for the *realskole* is still held at the end of the seven-year basic school course, the 1959 school system postpones public examinations until the ninth year. In the seven-year school, examinations in formal grammar and reproduction of a read text were usual in English at this level. These are now gradually giving way to the more varied forms of examination of the nine-year school, testing a wider range of skills. Pupils at this level are expected to have an active vocabulary of about 1,000 words.

Examination candidates in the *realskole*, and science and classical candidates in the *gymnasium*, take a written examination at the end of the third year of the secondary school course. This in principle is similar to the earlier form of the basic school examination, and consists of reproduction. However, considerable experiment is now going on to find a form of examination more in keeping with recent trends in modern language teaching.

The active vocabulary is expected to be about 2,000-3,000 words.

Technical and vocational examinees are, *mutatis mutandis*, tested along similar lines to candidates in the *realskole*.

Economics candidates in the *gymnasium* take in their final year a written examination testing their knowledge of ordinary as well as of commercial English.

The written examination on the modern language side consists of a written paper of five hours, in which the candidate has to write a single long essay. The subject may be based either on approved textbooks (which is the alternative generally preferred) or on matter which has not been specially prepared. Reference books may not be taken into the examination room. Recent examples of the questions set may be interesting to English teachers: 'From Galsworthy's *Justice*: "Tell briefly what happened to William Falder at his lodgings and at the office on the morning of the 7th of July, when he ended by forging the cheque. Then show how the counsel for the defence tried to prove to the jury that Falder could not be held responsible for the crime he had committed. What is your personal view on the subject?"— "After sketching the events leading up to the outbreak of the American War of Independence, state what was the attitude of William Pitt (Chatham) towards the American colonies. (Or, show on what grounds Edmund Burke in his speech on March 22, 1775, recommended conciliation with the American colonies). In conclusion, say briefly what you think has helped to promote friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States since their separation in the eighteenth century."'

It is clear from these questions that much more than a knowledge of the English language is required: a detailed knowledge of the subject matter of the textbooks is just as necessary. Criticism is sometimes made of the highly specialized nature of the examination, but most Norwegian teachers would agree that it should be more than a test of linguistic attainment, and that the civilization of Great Britain and of the English-speaking world should form an important part of the syllabus. Here, too, considerable experiment is now taking place both with syllabus and forms of examination in order to extend the scope of systematic language teaching.

The teacher-training college examinations in English are either on the model of the *realskole* (four-year course) or the modern language side of the *gymnasium* (two-year special course). The university English course, lower level, has, however, had its impact upon the latter special course for English teachers. In training colleges again, experimentation as to content as well as approach is in progress.

An oral test in English is also held at the nine-year school

examination, at the *realskole* examination, at the *examen artium*, at the *economics gymnasium* examination, and at the teacher-training college examination, but only a few candidates are generally selected for this test.

The examination papers of the nine-year school, the *realskole*, and the *gymnasium* are set by the Central Councils of the Ministry of Education. The *examen artium* certificate as well as that of the *economic gymnasium* are also matriculation certificates qualifying the holder for university entrance.

There are more students of English in Norway now than at any time in the past. Whilst a majority of them are at Oslo University an increasing number go to the university in Bergen (formally constituted in 1948), and to Norges Lærerhøgskole—the Teachers' Advanced College, Trondheim. Special one-year English courses, on the model of university lower degree courses, at some teacher-training colleges, are sponsored by the Ministry of Education. One of these courses is run in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, in co-operation with the University's Institute of Education.

The syllabus for English at university level is very extensive. Those who take it as a main subject must also study Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, and they are expected to have a good knowledge of British and American civilization, particularly the literature of England and the United States, stressing either English or American studies. Students of English as a main subject are required to present a thesis, and to pass a written as well as an oral examination. But before any one can be accepted as a main subject student, he must have passed satisfactorily the examination in English as a subsidiary subject, which requires English language skill and a knowledge of British and also of American civilization, e.g. literature, political and social affairs, against an historical background. A subsidiary subject takes one or one and a half years and a main subject about three years of study. Graduate teachers, lower or higher grade, must have three subjects.

Teachers of English in secondary schools are mostly university graduates who have passed a short course in pedagogy, including teaching methods. Many of them have spent some time in England or in the United States.

Teachers in the primary school are recruited from seventeen teacher-training colleges. Two courses are offered—a four-year course for students with a level of education corresponding to the *realskole* or nine-year school, and a two-year course for those with the *examen artium*. All students on the four-year course do a certain amount of English, but only selected candidates are prepared for English teaching duties. At present nine training

colleges—but from next year eleven—offer a special course, lasting the full two years, for the training of English teachers. The normal two-year course does not provide instruction in English, except experimentally in one or two cases. The Education Act of 1959 was the prelude to a tremendous increase in the number of children learning English. In sparsely populated areas experiment in English teaching has started with teachers even lacking in proper qualifications. In order to supplement the number of trained English teachers emerging each year from the training colleges, a number of different courses—in-service, resident, and correspondence—lasting from six months to two years, depending on the qualifications of the participants, are at present in progress. The largest of these was started as early as 1946 and is sponsored and run by the Norwegian Association of Basic School Teachers. Some in-service courses, for teachers in the basic school as well as for others, have been run in collaboration with the British Council.

There are courses in commercial English at a number of senior secondary schools of business and at commercial schools in the larger towns, and English studies are organized for advanced students of business administration at *Norges Handelshøgskole*, Bergen. The Norwegian Workers' Educational Association, which has been active since 1931, has established classes in English in some parts of the country. The Students' Education Movement (*Studentersamfunnets Fri Undervisning*) was started in 1840 to enable university students to give tuition in adult classes outside the university. It is a flourishing association, with centres in practically all the larger concentrations of population in Norway. English is by far the most popular of the subjects taught. In recent years the SFU has installed resident English teachers—all of them English—in more than fifteen areas from the far north to the extreme south. These teachers also assist with English teaching in the secondary schools, though their primary duty is to organize and run English classes in areas where facilities for this kind of instruction have not previously existed. Many smaller associations also organize English classes, and there are a number of English correspondence courses. Regular broadcasts are made in English on the Norwegian State broadcasting network. Many Norwegians, of course, listen to B.B.C. programmes.

School textbooks after 1869 reveal two definite periods in the standard of pronunciation. It is possible to distinguish two schools—Early School English and Present-Day School English. Early School English was supreme till the late eighties, when Present-Day School English was first launched. A typical feature of Early School English was the substitution of Norwegian phonological elements for those of English. In the school textbooks

difficult pronunciations were sometimes indicated by transcriptions, using the value of the letter in Norwegian orthography.

Rules were given about how English orthographical forms were pronounced. In Jacob Løkke's grammar, a book which appeared in two different editions (in 1867 and 1870) and was widely used, the pronunciation of words like *clerk*, *queen*, *cape*, *life*, *bluff* was indicated as 'klahrk', 'kvihn', 'kep', 'læif', 'bløff'.

To counteract this and other practices a movement for reform in the teaching of modern languages was started in the eighties, and carried through by a new generation of university-trained teachers. It had the new science of phonetics as a background. As early as 1874 J. Storm, the first professor of English at Oslo University, had been insisting on the importance of a knowledge of the living language. In 1882 Aug. Western published one handbook of English phonetics for students and teachers, and one for school use. That is the beginning of the epoch of Present-Day School English. The movement for reform, which in the northern countries is connected with the 'Quo usque tandem' group, founded in 1886, is in Norway specially linked with the names of J. Storm, Aug. Western, and K. Brekke. A number of school textbooks were published by Brekke and Western. In 1887 came Brekke's important primer. It is still used in its revised form. The Direct Method movement has led to the publication of more textbooks since 1920; in this connection the primers by C. Knap are of interest. The standard of pronunciation used in the books of these fifty years has been substantially the same. The phonetic script used by the International Phonetic Association is, however, now recommended.

The curriculum of the public schools is fixed by the Ministry of Education, and all textbooks have to be officially approved. But the schools have a choice of several textbooks, and provided the approved standards are reached, there is full scope for experiment in language-teaching.

Some outstanding names of English textbook writers in Norway in the last eighty years should perhaps be mentioned.

Among the writers for the middle school were Jacob Løkke, whose readers were extensively used in the middle school of the 1869 Act; Knud Brekke, whose progressive reader, first published in 1885 and later republished, was practically without rival until Carl Knap, the best known protagonist of the Direct Method in recent years, published his reader in the 1920's. The pioneer textbook writers for the *gymnasium* of the 1896 Act were K. Brekke and Aug. Western jointly. They were rivalled in the 1920's by C. Knap and H. Eitrem. The last thirty years have seen a number of other textbook writers.

The first textbooks were not, as one would wish today, linguistically prepared from a consideration of the needs of the school population at different stages of development. Some of them, however, had items of considerable personal appeal. In recent years a number of deserving books for the primary stage have appeared with a vocabulary restricted to less than a thousand words, and taking account of recent trends in modern language-teaching. Systematic language textbooks for the higher grades are beginning to appear. Readers for the *realskole* and the junior secondary comprehensive stage of the nine-year school are designed to teach the pupils not only the language but also something of English life and institutions.

By tradition the textbooks for the *gymnasium*, particularly those for the modern language side, consist of extracts (2-12 pages) from standard English authors. Literature and history are dealt with as twin sisters in rough outline from the age of Shakespeare to our own times. One may find that Brekke and Western (supplemented by Otto Andersen and H. Eitrem) have a greater liking for history than Knap and Eitrem. In case of the syllabus, the stress, at first, lay on matters of religion and politics in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and on the epic story of the expansion of England. In the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's, the centre of gravity, however, shifted to the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, to the Revolution, the British Commonwealth. Some names of authors represented will perhaps convey an idea of the standard of texts which were selected for the Norwegian modern language *gymnasium*: Shakespeare (usually *The Merchant of Venice*), Milton, Addison, Swift, Gray, Boswell, Scott, Burns, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Hood, the Brownings, Tennyson, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Shaw, Kipling, Wells, Galsworthy, Pitt, Burke, Macaulay, Carlyle, Ruskin, Green, Gardiner, Lecky, McCarthy, Toynbee, Mill, Bright, Gladstone, Smith, Spencer Walpole, Seeley, Pollard, Trevelyan, Lytton Strachey, Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, J. L. Garvin, Alfred Zimmern, J. A. Williamson, Ernest Barker, Arthur Bryant, etc.

Recently an English observer, Mrs Enid D. M. Beeken, gave her impression of English language-teaching in Norwegian schools as follows: 'I was interested to learn of some of the criticisms made by Norwegian teachers concerning the English syllabus, and its history content. It seemed to me that in achieving the extraordinarily high standard of English reached in Norwegian schools something has been sacrificed. Pupils capable of phrasing a long academically correct sentence are not always able to express themselves in simpler and more idiomatic English. They are, so to speak, better acquainted with the use of "neighbouring" than with "next door". I think too, the inclusion of

more comparatively modern poetry, the poetry of Yeats, de la Mare, or other modern poets, would be more acceptable and of more value to the pupils. Some of the older textbooks need drastic revision. The ubiquitous Macaulay is not so much "poor stuff" as unsuitable stuff. I thought that on the whole many of the elementary primers in use in the primary school were better textbooks than some of the older readers in the high school.'

V

The second World War has accelerated revision of the content of English teaching in Norway, particularly that of the modern language side of the *gymnasium*. It is a modern demand that the main lines of a curriculum should emerge from a consideration of the needs of children at different stages of development, in relation to considerations of the society in which they live today, and of the world of tomorrow in which they will live as adults. Today it has become evident that Great Britain, indeed Europe, is in process of being dwarfed by the overseas world, America in particular, which she has called into existence. The need for initiation into the cultural patterns of both Great Britain and the U.S.A. as well as the need for a better psychological approach in the teaching of the language, have, therefore, been determining factors in the curricular reform which was effected in the 1950's. These ideas were reflected in the title of one of the new textbooks for the modern language side, 'Anglo-American Reader' I, II, III. Their impact can be traced in the selection of new books as well as of new editions of old ones.

A significant recent trend is the revival of interest in teaching methods based on new media in relation to the various categories of pupils at different learning levels. Oral methods are of established repute in Norway. There is at present a stirring among language-teachers—and not least among English teachers.

Some Recent Films

ROGER MANVELL

Dr Manvell discusses some of the films of the past three years which have been adapted from well-known literary sources, both contemporary and of the past.

THE CINEMA in Britain, as elsewhere, continues to draw on the literature of the past and present alike, but does so with mixed motives. In the case, for example, of the British film made by the American director, Richard Brooks, from Conrad's *Lord Jim*, a highly introspective novel concerned with the human conscience was turned into a film of action and spectacle, in many respects well made, but essentially different in nature and treatment from the book. Another case was *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*: the motive here was to produce an erotic romp on the screen which would repeat the international success of John Osborne's and Tony Richardson's *Tom Jones*. It proved an honest enough film with a certain rough-and-ready flair for period atmosphere, but it bore little relation either in detail of action or in realism of treatment to Defoe's novel. Its predecessor in this field, however, *Tom Jones*, had many good qualities. The script by John Osborne is completely in tune with Fielding's book, though the eighteenth century is treated in an irreverent manner which is fresh and modern. There is no intention in the way *Tom Jones* is scripted, directed, or acted to put up the smoke-screen of 'history' between ourselves and the people we see portrayed. In spite of certain mannerisms of style which have become rather familiar in Tony Richardson's films, most of the characters in this film seem as 'real' as you and me.

The settings for the action, which was shot virtually entirely on location, are interesting in themselves. The main part of the film was photographed on two country estates on the Dorset-Somerset border; the country house in Dorset had its interior considerably adapted to suit the needs of the production. There seems little doubt that the air of authenticity that is one of the mainstays of the film comes from this insistent use of location, which is one of Tony Richardson's characteristics as a filmmaker. Nevertheless, he has chosen to turn *Tom Jones* into a *jeu d'esprit* in the style of the modern French cinema, superimposing on the story's natural gusto and humanity all the tricks of the ciné-camera, including fancy 'wipes', zip-pans, and jump-cuts from one flash of action to another, close-in shooting, and even tricks derived from silent-film comedy—including 'freezing' the action into a still picture, or speeding up the motion at the

close of sequences. However, in spite of this technical playfulness many sequences make this past century come alive most credibly. The film is not the equal of the novel, nor does it pretend that it is. To some extent it is made at the novel's expense, squandering its great wealth of potential material. Fielding, after all, wrote in the expansive, picaresque style of his time, although the basic story remains a simple one. There are many light-hearted and vigorous performances, particularly by Albert Finney as Tom Jones and Edith Evans as Squire Allworthy's haughty sister from the town.

An interesting development in recent British film-making has been an increase in the number of scripts prepared by well-known novelists and dramatists, rather than adapted by the professional screenwriters. *Tom Jones* was John Osborne's first screenplay; the novelist Edna O'Brien adapted her story *The Girl with Green Eyes* (originally called *The Lonely Girl*) for the film produced by Tony Richardson and directed by Desmond Davis, and the result was a sensitively made, romantic film in which Rita Tushingham gave an outstanding performance as a young Irish girl in love with a middle-aged writer. But the busiest of all these distinguished adaptors was undoubtedly Harold Pinter, who wrote the screenplays of Penelope Mortimer's novel, *The Pumpkin-Eater*, of Robin Maugham's story, *The Servant*, and of his own stage-play, *The Caretaker*.

Take the case of *The Pumpkin-Eater*. 'Peter, Peter, pumpkin-eater! Had a wife and couldn't keep her' goes the old adage. However, this film, like Penelope Mortimer's novel, comes out the other way round; it is Jo, the wife in this story, who cannot keep her men. Jake, the Peter in the film, is the last in the line of her husbands, and the father of the last in her line of progeny. For Jo is a compulsive child-bearer, and, many people may think, a thoroughly tiresome woman. But the truth is that Jake and Jo have a gnawing love that binds them together in spite of Jake's adolescent infidelities with the most unlikely women, and the appalling rows that follow.

As written by Penelope Mortimer, this story takes the form of Jo's sardonic revelation of her life and its fantasies; the novel has a basic humour as well as a compelling pathology about it. As a film, *The Pumpkin-Eater* is turned into an elegant essay in screencraft, carefully devised through Harold Pinter's script and Jack Clayton's direction. The result is a 'tear-jerker' without tears, full of technical excellencies but with almost none of the raw emotion needed to match the lacerating self-torture of this poor, unfortunate, impossible woman. Peter Finch plays Jake as a man with that particular kind of insensitive charm and off-hand bad manners which turns him into every woman's pet. He is blindly

careless about the cause of his wife's suffering, yet never stops loving her, though on a plane quite different from that of her own voracious kind of loving. In the novel, the other characters are seen through the mind of the distracted woman; in the film, where we observe both her and them with equal objectivity, they verge on caricature, like James Mason's sadistic informer and the terrible women played with such ruthless relish by Maggie Smith and Yootha Joyce. As for Anne Bancroft, we remember just how strong and resourceful an actress she can be from those memorable fights she had round the dining-table in *The Miracle Worker*, the film about the childhood of Helen Keller. In *The Pumpkin-Eater*, she plays Jo with all the vigorous virtuosity of which she is capable, but the result, for me at any rate, was more disturbing than moving.

The Servant is based on the fable by Robin Maugham, and it has the advantage of being filtered to the screen through Pinter's brilliant script. Pinter adds his own particular overtones to heighten the significance of the corrupt relationship between the two men involved, the master and the man-servant. *The Servant* is a film with a symbolic quality the depths of which are much what you yourself make them. On a purely superficial level, taking the events shown realistically, this is a story of the motiveless corruption of one human being by another during the course of which their social relationship is reversed: it is as if Iago had achieved command in Cyprus at the end of *Othello*. The servant who began by being the complete slave of his master, ends by making the master his slave. The man with the upper-class breeding is reduced to a plaything by the man without social position, without breeding, without conscience. You can take this parable how you will, but a parable it is, and it is in this manner that it is presented by Pinter, the scriptwriter, by Joseph Losey, the director, and by the principal actors, James Fox as the master, Dirk Bogarde as the manservant, and Sarah Miles as the corrupting woman.

The talent of Harold Pinter as a dramatist was demonstrated first of all on television. This is possibly why in all his plays—such as *The Room*, *The Birthday Party*, *The Caretaker*, and, more recently, *The Tea Party* for television, and *The Homecoming* for the stage—he takes a close look at a small group of people locked up in a world which seems to lie on the borderline of sanity and insanity. It is Pinter's particular distinction as a writer that he can make us see the tragi-comedy of the whole human condition revealed in the enclosed, obsessional world of the sub-normal and the paranoiac.

The Caretaker, the most famous of his plays and the first to be filmed, gives a masterly and complete expression to this

tragic dilemma in human experience. It involves only three characters, and it is set in the attic room of a small, tumbledown tenement in London; the rest of the house is empty. Mick, the owner of the property, is a violent, unpredictable young man whose only dream is to turn the house into a palace furnished according to the glossiest advertisement for modern interior decoration. His older brother, Aston, is a lonely, self-enclosed man whose youthful hallucinations have only been cured by shock therapy; he sees the house as a means to fulfil his need to use his hands—work which he completely lacks the mental energy and initiative to undertake. To his visitor—a down-and-out known as Davies brought in one night by Aston because, for a while, he senses in him a companion whose misfortune is even greater than his own—the attic is a place where he can stay a while and even scrounge a pair of boots to see him on his journey to the place he has never been able to reach where his identification papers are kept. Davies is alternately arrogant, frustrated and whining, a decrepit, disgusting old man betrayed by his illusions yet always clinging to his moments of human dignity. He still believes he has the right to pick and choose the manner in which he will accept the charity he craves. The presence of this stranger in the house excites a sadistic jealousy in Mick, but to each of these three men the crowded attic stacked with piles of useless junk becomes a refuge from the cold world of reality.

The film is directed by Clive Donner, a gifted film-maker who had shown his qualities in *Nothing But The Best*. Donner had to work almost entirely within the confines of the crowded attic, which was a real room in a house in Hackney, a working-class district of London. He filmed primarily in close shot, pressing the camera home on the virtuoso performances of his three actors—Alan Bates and Robert Shaw as the two brothers and Donald Pleasence as the tramp. Everything turns on their performances, which are built up with a brilliant intensity and feeling for psychological detail.

Peter Brook has directed a remarkable film taken from William Golding's novel, *Lord of the Flies*, a fable about human civilization told through the adventures of a group of boys marooned on an uninhabited tropical island after the plane in which they were flying in time of war is forced down into the sea. The eldest of these boys is little more than twelve, the majority much younger, and what we are shown is the kind of society they instinctively develop once all adult restraint and guidance are removed.

There is nothing romantic or idealistic about *Lord of the Flies*. This small community of exclusively male children contains only two boys who have begun to sense the need for some kind of

civilized group-living. One of these is Ralph, who is elected as the initial leader, and the other is Piggy, a fat, bespectacled and asthmatic child with abnormally bad sight who would be the target for cruel fun were it not that he has a gift for talking and insists on thinking things out for himself. Opposed to them from the start is another group of boys, led by Jack, whose own particular talent for leadership is essentially destructive. Jack, with his lust to hunt, kill, and have savage fun soon displaces Ralph, whose higher instinct for orderliness and justice is too unformed to hold the rest together. Once the rot has set in, the boys rapidly deteriorate into a tribe of wild savages.

This is not a pretty fable, and to realize it effectively on the screen using a selection of English children who had never acted before became a feat of direction for Peter Brook. These boys were taken to live on an island off Puerto Rico, and submitted to the gruelling experience of making real the truth of Golding's tale. The film was shot in the strict order of the narrative, and Peter Brook kept the camera as free as possible to catch every significant moment of improvisation the children instinctively devised. Although in general they understood the nature of what they were doing, certain concessions had to be made to allow for their lack of fundamental acting ability. For example, their looks reflect this darkening experience far better than their voices, and because of this much of the dialogue is spoken without the actor's faces in direct vision. Apart from Piggy's slight, effective dialect, the boys tend to speak with a deadening English middle-class accent which makes the most terrible things said sound polite and bloodless. However, Ralph does manage to convey the pathetic anxiety of a sensitive child unable to stop things going wrong, and Piggy inspires a beautifully uninhibited performance. The boy who plays Jack looks the part, but lacks the real menace of the potential tyrant.

The film rightly, I think, moves episodically and austere from phase to phase in this decline and fall of juvenile humanity, but at times one feels the director fears that the lack of urgency or dramatic pace in the children's performances must be compensated by introducing cinematic devices to build tension artificially. This happens, for example, in the sequence of the hunting of the unknown beast, or the savage chase of Ralph at the end. This treatment would be quite normal in a conventional film, but seems out of place and over-sensational in this most unconventional one. Making this film was obviously a very severe challenge, and for me it is in the main successful.

A further step forward in British film-making was Lindsay Anderson's version of David Storey's novel, *This Sporting Life*. Once more, an author adapted his own novel for the screen. *This*

Sporting Life, I think, carries the British cinema a stage forward by introducing considerations into the treatment of situation and character which are more than merely objective and descriptive. As Anderson himself puts it: 'The film is primarily a study in temperament. It is a film about a man of extraordinary power and aggressiveness, both temperamental and physical, but at the same time with a great innate sensitiveness and a need for love of which he is at first hardly aware. And this sensitiveness is reflected in a very strange and complicated relationship with a woman.'

Although *This Sporting Life* is the story of a footballer called Robert Machin set against the background of the sporting world of the north of England—the film was shot in the northern town of Wakefield—an objective picture of this life was never the prime intention of the film. As Anderson goes on to say, 'We were very aware that we were not making a film about anything representative; we were making a film about something unique. We were not making a film about a worker, but about an extraordinary (and therefore more deeply significant) man, and about an extraordinary relationship.' Richard Harris as Machin portrays an uneasy, over-sensitive bear of a man lodging with a widow inhibited by memories of a dead husband whom she loved with a destructive possessiveness. Machin, who was formerly a miner, becomes a professional Rugby player and at the same time attempts a love affair with his landlady, a relationship which neither of them seem to know how to develop into anything positive.

The film is told in a succession of flashbacks. Machin is given gas by a dentist following an accident on the field, and as a result he recalls the stages of his unhappy, and at times rebellious, relationship with his fellow-players, with the unscrupulous promoters of the team, and above all with the widow Mrs Hammond, played by Rachel Roberts. The game itself, with which the film opens at the time of the accident, is shown like a struggle of gladiators—for, as Machin says at the end of the film, the team represents for the town the spirit of action and heroism that the yelling crowd of supporters can no longer live up to in their individual lives. The film ends with stark tragedy when Mrs Hammond dies and Frank is left to discover in mute mourning that his need for love went far deeper than he ever realized when she was alive. This subtle, uncompromising film did not win the large audience it deserved. It keeps close to the spirit of David Storey's novel, with its disturbing study on the background of the relationship between the players and the crowds they attract.

A final note on the Russian film version of *Hamlet*, directed by Grigori Kozintsev with Innokenty Smoktunovsky as the

Prince. In many respects this must rank as the finest adaptation yet of Shakespeare to the screen, though it must be recognized that the text used is Pasternak's prose translation, which Kozintsev told me is in a slightly heightened but basically modern idiom. I had the privilege of meeting Kozintsev at the special one-day congress on *Shakespeare and the Cinema* organized by Unesco in Paris in November 1964, at which Peter Brook and I represented Britain among the speakers. The imagery of the play's poetry is transmuted into visual terms—the merciless iron of armour and weapons, the forbidding stone of castle and ramparts, the menacing wash of sea against rock. The isolation of Hamlet is emphasized by showing his lonely figure against the constant flux of the small, but crowded court. *Though the dialogue is played on the level of thoughtful, meditative prose, the total effect of the film is remarkably intense and atmospheric.* Grigori Kozintsev, who speaks English well, is something of a Shakespearean scholar, and he spent a full year producing this film on location by the Baltic Sea and in the studio.

FOR THE YOUNG TEACHER—1

Getting to Know Your Class

H. A. CARTLEDGE

WHEN YOU STAND in front of your class, you are only one person. Facing you is a group of children, thirty perhaps, or even forty of them. You are an individual to each of those children, with a character of your own. They soon learn to know and understand you very well.

You, in return, should get to know each of them as well as you can. You must learn the strong and the weak points in their character, and try to develop the good and conquer the bad in them. You must find out what each of them likes doing and does not like doing. If any of them doesn't like learning English, you must find out the reason. You may find that the fault is yours, not the child's. Your lessons may be uninteresting. You may be inclined only to teach the clever ones, and not to bother with those who are not so clever. They may feel that for you they are only a list of names and a row of faces.

There is no surer way to create a bad pupil than by making him feel that you aren't interested in his progress at school or in his happiness there. On the other hand, there is no surer way to create a willing class, a class that is eager to co-operate with you and do its best to please you, than by knowing every member of it as an individual.

'Yes' you may say 'but how can I do this with the big classes I have to teach and the two or three hours a week which is all the time I have to spend with any one of my classes? I have to get through my year's programme, and I can't waste time on anything but teaching the book and making sure they do the exercises.'

There are two answers to this remark; first, that there are some easy and very effective ways of making your pupils feel that you know each of them; and secondly, that if you do spend a little time in doing so, at the beginning of the course, you will make much better progress with them later. They will want to learn. That will make all the difference to both the speed and the thoroughness with which they learn things.

The first thing you must do is get to know each pupil by his or her name. This may take quite a long time, but there is a short cut to achieving it. When you first get the list of names of your class, take some oblong pieces of white card. Plain postcards would do very well. Write an English first name on each card. Be careful to make enough cards with boys' names on them—Tom, Jack, Bill, and so on—to provide one for each of the boys on the list, and enough girls' names—Anne, Betty, Susan, and so on—for all the girls. The names must be big enough for you to see them easily from the front of the class.

Take these cards and a packet of pins into your next lesson with the class. Give a card and a pin to each pupil—but remember boys' names for boys and girls' names for girls—and tell them to pin the card on to their clothing, on their chests, in a place where you can see it clearly.

Now you can begin an English conversation as soon as you wish. You can wish the pupils 'good morning' or 'good afternoon' in turn, and get them to answer. You can ask individuals to stand up, sit down, close the door, or open a window. You can very soon begin this kind of dialogue:

T. This is Tom. Bill, is this Tom?

P. Yes, it is.

T. That's Jack. Fred, is that Jack?

P. Yes, it is.

T. Mary, is this Jack?

P. No, it isn't, it's Tom.

T. Betty, is that Tom?

P. No, it isn't, it's Jack.

If you tried to learn all their names first, it might take you a long time to get even as far as this. If you can begin with English names in this way, you can always learn the real names of the pupils as time goes on. If they put their own name on the exercises they write for you, with their English name in brackets after it, you will learn their names as you give the corrected work back to them. This is only one of the many ways of learning their names, once the use of English names has given you breathing-space to do so.

Another reason for getting to know each child by name is for class control and discipline. School-children are far from being little angels. However well you have got them to work, there will always be moments when one or other of them will feel like playing some sort of trick. If they never did, they would indeed be dull and lifeless pupils. All the same, their instinct for mischief needs to be checked at the proper moment, or you may find that the class gradually gets out of hand.

The only effective way to stop this is by speaking to the offender by name. There is little use in your calling out 'Stop playing about, that boy in the back row'. This is too vague, and it shows how little contact you have with the class. But 'Tom, bring that knife here' or 'Mary, stop whispering to Susan' will have an immediate and direct effect. Some teachers almost seem to have eyes in the backs of their heads, and can pick out and check a child who is behaving badly, even when their back is turned to the class and they are writing on the blackboard. Such teachers have very little trouble in getting their pupils to attend to the lesson!

One should not make too much of the need for this kind of discipline, that consists of telling children to stop doing what you don't want them to do. Positive discipline is much better, the kind of discipline that encourages them to do what you want them to do; but for both kinds of discipline, a teacher should make his pupils feel that he knows each of them personally, and does not merely look on them as a nameless and featureless mass.

FOR THE YOUNG TEACHER—2

Questions in the Classroom

GEOFFREY BROUGHTON

TEACHING EFFICIENCY depends very much on the close interaction of the teacher and his learners. The art of questioning in the classroom is one of the prime means of maintaining this interaction and one which all teachers do well to develop.

Compare two teachers and their classes. The first does not believe in questioning his learners. His teaching is a one-way process. He doesn't know who is understanding him and who is not. He doesn't know whether he is going too fast for the slower members of his class. He can't tell which members are giving him their full attention and which are dreaming. This is the technique of the lecture, perhaps the least efficient method of teaching in existence, except for learners of the highest intelligence and motivation.

By contrast, our second teacher believes in involving his learners in the minute-to-minute activity of the classroom. He believes he should never tell his learners anything they can tell him. He begins a lesson by recapitulating in a series of questions and answers what was done in the last lesson: now he knows who understood that lesson and how well. Also he has got the minds of the class working in the right channels. (This warming-up process, he knows, is just as important at the start of a lesson as for an athlete before he performs.) Our second teacher, again, uses questions throughout the lesson to keep his learners attending to him and moving forward at the speed he wants. He knows that all members of the class are working in step, he ensures constant 'feed-back'—a regular check on understanding and performance. Unlike the first teacher, he is in sympathetic control of the learning process: he and his class are involved in a close mutual interaction which promotes efficient learning and teaching.

But how does this second teacher ensure full class activity without losing control? It is safer, the inexperienced teacher sometimes feels warily, to keep talking and not let the noise and interruptions begin. In this way is the first kind of teacher born, through fear.

Let us base our questioning on a sound working relationship understood by all in our classroom. We, the teacher, may ask many questions during lessons. We do not accept answers shouted out; that is, we usually mention the name of the learner we want to answer. (Except in the smallest of classes, shouting out means

loss of control: we cannot direct our questions where we will, the initiative is in the hands of our noisiest and most excitable learners.) We expect class members to put up a hand to show they think they can answer the question. Then we can assume that those without a hand up either cannot answer or are not attending. This information is lost if we permit unsolicited answers.

Of course, until a working relationship is established, things do not always go smoothly. We find that some learners don't play by the rules. Suppose, for instance, that Karim is lazy. When he knows an answer to a question he doesn't bother to put up his hand. If we suspect this, we challenge him—'Ah, most people know—don't you, Karim?' Often this is enough to call his bluff and up goes his hand. Then we can challenge whoever we wish to answer. But, now knowing that we want him to take part, Karim decides the easiest way out is to put up his hand in reply to every question: he hopes not to be asked. But he does not mislead us. Watch his eyes. The learner who doesn't want to be challenged never looks at the teacher!

In order to maintain this active participation in the lesson, we must ensure that as many learners as possible are involved. This has a direct bearing on how we frame our questions and who we decide to ask.

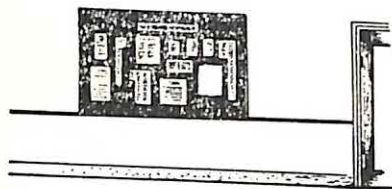
Suppose we put our question like this: 'Amin, what was that new word Halim told us yesterday?' This is a signal to the rest of the class that we are having a private conversation with Amin and they are not expected to think. But if we look generally over the class and ask our question—'What was the new word Halim told us yesterday?'—we are asking all members of the class to think. We wait for the hands to come up, then challenge: 'Amin, you tell us, please'.

In making our challenge, it is important to spread the questioning. We don't therefore ask the first person who puts up his hand (often it is the same one every time), we pause between putting the question and challenging. Often we know who we want to answer a question, even before we put it. Sometimes we ask a very easy one, designed for the weaker members of our class, as an encouragement to them to continue to try to answer. It is often useful at the end of a long sequence of questions to ask ourselves who has not answered a question and who has been allowed to answer too many. The wise teacher makes sure that his questions have been fairly distributed.

Needless to say this kind of interaction is different from that used when we are doing certain kinds of language drill. But our classes soon come to recognize the cues that lead into a questioning routine: 'Now let's see if we can all remember what the last

chapter was about. I wonder who can make a sentence like that about this picture.'

In any case, as with most teaching techniques, the art of questioning is one which arises from comfortable classroom relationships. And with this, as with most other techniques, we can achieve that comfort by having thought out in some detail what we intend doing and how it is best done.



Newsboard

During the last three years the B.B.C., working in conjunction with the British Council, has been preparing a series of English language programmes for primary schools in Africa. Two years' programmes are now available. The first set of 24 programmes under the title of *Joseph and Sarah* is being broadcast at present in Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, and Malawi, and is scheduled for Zambia. The experiments on which this series was based were described in a previous Newsboard item (XVII, 4, July 1963). The second set of programmes, *Michael, Anna, and Innocent*, has only just been completed but is already being broadcast in Uganda. These recorded radio programmes are also available on disc—four programmes on a 12-in. long-playing record at 30s. Each series is divided into three terms of eight programmes and an envelope of teacher's material for each term contains a booklet of teacher's notes and a blackboard picture for each programme.

The programmes consist of short plays in controlled English based on incidents in the life of a family in modern Africa. The plays in the

Michael, Anna, and Innocent series were written by the well-known children's writer, Pauline Clarke, who recently spent some months in West Africa organizing a writers' workshop for writers interested in producing children's stories. Each play contains a specially composed song which is related to the story, but at the same time gives some exercise to important structures.

The plays are introduced by a Narrator or Radio Teacher, who also interrupts them from time to time in order to provide opportunity for listener response exercises. These exercises are of three main types:

- (a) straightforward repetition of words, phrases and sentences;
- (b) responding to questions or statements according to a pre-arranged pattern. For example:

Narrator: Why must Anna go to the hospital? Because she feels ill.

Children, why must she go to the hospital?

Pause for listener response

Because she feels ill.

- (c) constructing sentences on a given pattern on the basis of 'key

words' provided by the Narrator. For example:

Narrator: Plane.

Listeners: I have never been in a plane before.

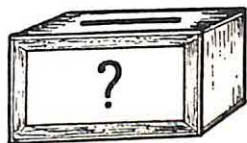
Narrator: Bus.

Listeners: I have never been in a bus before.

The principal aim of the programmes is to give experience of English in use in everyday situations. The language is carefully controlled. It follows on from the *Joseph and Sarah* series and each new linguistic

item is exercised when it is introduced. The selection of linguistic items is based on an estimate of the language children would need to use within each situation and has been checked against the main textbook courses used in African primary schools in order to ensure that it is in keeping with the general level of attainment. The listener response exercises within the programme are a starting point for the fuller exercise of each item by the teacher, who is given detailed instruction and suggestions in the teacher's notes.

Question Box



1. Can you help me to understand the difference between *officer* and *official*? I thought that *officer* was used of men in the armed forces and the police force, and *officials* of men in government departments (e.g. the Post Office). But I have recently seen a reference to 'British Council officers'.

ANSWER. It might be said that all officers are officials, but that not all officials are officers. An official is the holder of a public office, for instance in national or local government. He is a member of the bureaucracy. An officer is employed on active duties, usually in a position of authority. In the case of the police, *officer* is also used as a title. Speaking to a policeman, we might address him as 'Officer'. We would never address him as 'Official'.

Other examples of officers, in addition to those in the armed forces and the police, are Public Relations Officers, Medical Officers of Health, Customs Officers, and Welfare Offic-

ers. In the case of the British Council, the title *officer* is probably preferred to that of *official* because of the active part which its employees take in educational work in countries all over the world, particularly in connection with English teaching.

[H.A.C.]

2. In *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* the noun *sky* (page 939) is defined as 'the space at which we look up to from the earth'. Doesn't this definition contain one preposition too many?

ANSWER. Yes, it certainly does. This definition (or, more strictly, description) is clearly a contamination of two syntactic structures: (a) the space at which we look up; and (b) the space which we look up to. In fact, either *at* or *to* can be used equally well with the phrasal verb *look up*, expressing a very slight difference in meaning; the relative pronoun *which* may or may not be

used in this context since it is in the objective case; and the preposition *at* or *to* can be placed either immediately before the relative pronoun or at the end of the phrase. This means that no fewer than six expressions are possible here:

- the space we look up at
- we look up to
- which we look up at
- which we look up to
- at which we look up
- to which we look up.

Of these six expressions the first is the best to use.

The simplest things are sometimes the hardest to define in a one-language dictionary. The editors of *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary* wanted, I think, to get away from the tautologous definitions of *sky* which you will find in other dictionaries, like 'the vault of heaven' (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*), 'the apparent vault of heaven' (Cassell's), 'upper part of the earth's atmosphere' (Penguin). They were trying hard to give a true description in a new way. A redundant preposition slipped in and the proof-reader failed to delete it.

[S.P.]

3. In translating the opening paragraph of Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* some of my pupils wrote 'The other mountain is called, in the Lombard dialect, *il Resegone*', whereas others wrote '... in Lombard dialect ...'. Are both these translations correct?

ANSWER. Yes, they are both acceptable, but there is a slight difference in meaning between them. If you put in the definite article you are referring to the Lombard dialect of the Italian language as one definite form of speech among others like Tuscan or Genoese or Venetian, whereas if you leave it out and say 'in Lombard dialect' you are thinking of the speech of Lombardy as something vague and indistinct. You are no longer thinking of it as one thing among others of the same kind. You are thinking of it as a regional speech in a general way contrasted with the

standard language of Florence and Rome.

The difference in meaning between these two phrases does indeed show quite well one of the uses of the definite article in English.

Here is another example. A Londoner is heard to say: 'I'm afraid I didn't understand everything Mr Whitby said at first. He was talking Yorkshire dialect. After a time, however, I was able to follow him well enough. I found that he was speaking in the dialect of Wensleydale.' Wensleydale is one of those valleys in the North Riding of Yorkshire which have their own distinct dialects.

[S.P.]

4. Would you kindly inform us if the following sentences are correct according to modern English usage? Could you please quote some authority?

- (a) If I will go there, I will see him.
- (b) I should be grateful if you would let me know if you are attending the meeting.
- (c) He is one of the best doctor in India.
- (d) He is one of those people who is responsible for this.
- (e) There is a big teapot and a jug of milk.

ANSWER. (a) Not correct. The 'will' future is not used after *if*. The correct form is *go*—*If I go*...

(b) Correct.

(c) Not correct. In comparing three people, only one of them can be best. But in speaking of all the doctors in India, a number of them are best. Therefore: *He is one of the best doctors in India.*

(d) This is less certain. It is arguable that *who is* refers to *He*. To be on the safe side, however, it is better to write ... *who are responsible for this.*

(e) Once again there is an argument on both sides. On the whole, English usage seems to support the sentence as it is given. *Is* goes with *teapot* and *a jug of milk* can be regarded as an appended phrase.

The writer is a native English speaker and a teacher of English. *E.L.T.* is a reputable journal. Together they should be sufficient authority. [A.V.P.E.]

5. Do you know of any good reason for stressing *ice-cream* on the second syllable, while a number of other similar compound nouns (such as *ice-axe*, *iceberg*, *ice-boat*, *ice-box*, *ice-cap*, *ice-fall*, *ice-field*, *ice-man*, *ice-pack*) are stressed on the first syllable?

ANSWER. Let us first be quite clear what we are talking about. All the compounds within the brackets above are what are known as single-stressed compounds, and moreover all these (the great majority of single-stressed compounds in English) are stressed on the first component only. *Ice-cream*, along with very many other compounds, is what is known as a double-stressed compound, i.e. one that potentially receives a strong stress on *both* components. But sentence-rhythm, and the occasional need to bring out a special meaning, cause such double-stressed compounds to drop one or other of their strong stresses under certain conditions. Thus '*north-east*', potentially double-stressed, would be pronounced *north-east* as opposed to *north-west*, but '*north-east*' as opposed to '*south-east*', and also in a phrase such as a '*north-east wind*', due to the proximity of the following stress on *wind*. So also '*ice-cream*' '*soda*' when *ice-cream* is used attributively before another strong stress.

Another point is connected with intonation: the last strong stress of a group of syllables is the place where the pitch of the voice falls (or rises) before the end of the group. This is known as the kinetic stress. So single-stressed compounds have a kinetic stress on their first component, whereas double-stressed compounds have a kinetic stress on their second component, whether their first component is in fact strongly stressed also or not. Paying attention to the position of the kinetic stress

is the safest and surest way of noticing whether a compound is single- or double-stressed, as it is far easier to hear the place of pitch change than to observe degrees of stress as such.

However, I expect the questioner is already well aware of all that has been said so far, and is asking whether there is any logic ('any good reason') behind the fact that *ice-cream* may bear kinetic stress on *cream* whereas all the other examples he quotes may not. To decide that, it is necessary to look into the meaning of a compound in order to establish the relationship between the two components, how they compare with one another in importance for the meaning, and how they are related to one another grammatically. (A very full analysis of the stressing of compounds will be found in *The Groundwork of English Stress* by Roger Kingdon, which all those interested should consult further.) Considered from this point of view, *ice-cream* is what Kingdon calls an English-type compound, its grammatical structure noun + noun, but it differs in type of meaning from all the other examples given in indicating that the first component, being material used in manufacture, is contained in the second component which is made out of it. All the other examples indicate either an article (box, pack, axe, etc.) used for the first component (ice) or something (cap, field, etc.) simply consisting of the first component (ice).

The position is not quite as simple as this, however: various tendencies are at work in the language which make it impossible to state so categorically how a given compound 'is stressed'. Not only is the above-mentioned rhythmic principle at work, but it often happens that an element of implied contrast is present in the utterance, in which case the component to be contrasted is stressed at the expense of another syllable that would otherwise be stressed. Thus the stressing '*ice-cream*' would automatically be used if it were intended to bring out a

contrast with some other kind of cream, e.g. custard cream. Moreover, compounds that are in frequent use tend to get firmly established as single units, in which case the English tendency to stress *early* induces a pronunciation in which the original double-stressed compound is uttered with single stress on the first component. So it is that at the present time some people do in fact pronounce '*ice-cream*', i.e. they make of it a single-stressed compound, and the number of such people is undoubtedly on the increase for this and many other expressions, e.g. *armchair*, *fountain-pen*, etc. Nowadays many compounds are pronounced as single-stressed, i.e. with kinetic stress on the first component only, by Americans, when English people would still pronounce them double-stressed, and many are pronounced single-stressed by the younger generation of English people where older people would still pronounce with double-stress.

[P.A.D.M.]

6. Some teachers tell their pupils that 'German student' (main stress on the first word) means 'one who studies German', whereas 'German student' (main stress on the second word) means 'a German-born student'.

Would it not be better for those teachers to tell their pupils that 'German student' always means 'a German-born student', while 'one who studies German' is equivalent to 'a student of German'?

Would it not be more reasonable to claim that 'German student' (student born in Germany) is contrasted with 'French student' (student born in France), while 'German student' is contrasted with 'German teacher' or 'German doctor', or 'German soldier' or 'German lawyer', etc.?

ANSWER. There are several points here. First of all, '*German student*' can only mean a German-born student, both words are stressed, the preceding adjective qualifies (applies to) the noun, and no contrast is

implied. '*German student*' on the other hand is ambiguous, since it can either mean a student of German (as opposed to another language), or a student of German nationality (as opposed to some other nationality). This is a fact of the English language, and no amount of teachers' effort to sort out the usages and say that such and such a pronunciation *shall only* mean one thing, so as to avoid possible confusions, is of any use. When it is *essential* to bring out a contrast, this is done by using a *high* falling pitch on the appropriate syllable. So, for instance, '*German student*' could still mean two things indicated within brackets above, but rather more emphatically, whereas '*German student*' must mean a student (as opposed, e.g. to a teacher) who is of German nationality. Of course, if an English speaker feels that his utterance is ambiguous and that this matters, he will always turn the construction so as to be clear, e.g. he will say 'student of German', thus avoiding the other meaning.

[P.A.D.M.]

7. I have observed two Englishmen—a B.B.C. announcer and a university professor, R.P. speakers in every other respect—employ dental stops: alveolar stops do not occur in their speech. Is there perhaps a particular speech-group or sub-group where dental rather than alveolar stops are the norm, or should dental stops merely be dismissed as an individual peculiarity?

ANSWER. Dental stops are quite common among Scottish speakers of English, i.e. they are normal for many, so if the B.B.C. announcer or the university professor were of Scottish origin, there is a possibility that the dental articulation of their t's and d's was correctly observed by the questioner. But it seems unlikely that their speech would in all other respects have been free from Scottish regionalisms of pronunciation and thus able to qualify as R.P. I think it fairly safe to say that (if correctly observed) these speakers

were idiosyncratic in their usage, in other words dental t's and d's constitute an individual peculiarity. Outside R.P., some dialects of England regularly have dental t and d *before* r (as in tr- or even -tər-), but not in other phonetic contexts. Both within R.P. and outside, individuals can be found with this unusual articulation. It may be because they or their ancestors had originally some other language as background (as Jewish speakers of English had) or because anatomically the lower jaw is under-shot or protruding in such a way that it is easier for the tongue to articulate against the teeth rather than farther back.

But it occurs to me to wonder whether the facts in this case *were* correctly observed. Short of identifying the speakers in question and checking for myself (preferably from the life but otherwise from a first-class recording), there is no means of knowing now whether they were or not. It is at least possible that the hearer was mistaken. Was the speaker heard on the radio under such conditions that the rather slight auditory difference between dental and alveolar articulations emerged unmistakably? Was the lecturer heard at close range or in a large hall, when conditions must have been un-

favourable for making a conclusive judgement? Or is the questioner perhaps accustomed to hearing (and making?) the retroflex t's and d's used by many Indian speakers—in which case I can imagine that he might be tempted to identify any sounds articulated farther forward (or at least not retroflexed) as being dental, when in fact they were not?

[P.A.D.M.]

8. Would you mind explaining what is meant by *published prices* in such sentences as *Prices are the published prices in the U.K. or Published prices quoted*? The expression seems to have a special significance in the book trade. Why does one say 'published' prices? With what other price-indications can the term be contrasted?

ANSWER. One sense of 'publish' is 'offer (a book, etc.) for sale to the general public'. In the British book trade there are three kinds of price: the price at which a publisher sells to a bookseller, the price at which a bookseller sells to a recognized library, and the price at which he sells to the general public. This last is the published price. It is fixed by the publisher, and the other two prices are usually quoted as published price less a certain discount.

Reviews

LANGUAGE TEACHING: A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH.

Robert Lado. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964. xiv + 239 pp. 32s.

Professor Lado's book is a very comprehensive treatment of his subject. It draws its illustrations from several

languages and displays full awareness of the disciplines underlying successful language teaching. Lado knows that learning is even more important than teaching. While linguistics may indicate the material to be taught, psychology shows how it will best



be learned. Most language learning should have a genuinely educational value, too, inasmuch as it brings experience of another community or culture. Lado's theory of language learning 'is based on a psycholinguistic frame of reference' (p. 35), and he has interesting chapters on Language and Culture and on Cultural Content and Literature. This is a refreshing improvement on the crudities of 'applied linguistics'.

Professor Lado has not entirely shaken off such influence. He defers rather too much to the prevailing taste for mechanical drill. Mimicry-memorization and pattern practice are advocated by him without any indication how these can transfer to meaningful use of a language. The memorized dialogues that are suggested as a means of contextualizing patterns must conflict to some extent with the grading he recommends, since realism will often suggest the inclusion of forms and patterns not yet reached. Nor do such dialogues train the learner to produce speech meaningful for him in various situations; they enable him only to remember set formulae for specific situations. Lado recognizes that free selection in response to a situation is the essential skill to be acquired, but he condones the practice of meaningless sequences of sound as an approach to the use of meaningful expressions appropriate to their contexts. Perhaps it is significant that transfer of training is not among the psychological problems he refers to in his theory of language learning.

Criticism such as the above affects mainly the elementary stages of language learning. On the major issues the book is full of good sense and helpful advice. There is a particularly sensible and well-informed section on Technological Aids, which should be read carefully before money is spent on equipment.

The author wears his academic and practical experience lightly, and the book is easy and pleasant reading. It is addressed to teachers and should prove a great help to them.

AN INTERNATIONAL READER'S DICTIONARY

M. West. *Longmans*. 1965. x+402 pp. 7s. 6d.

In this revision of the earlier *New Method English Dictionary*, Dr West has added words and expressions new to the language, has revised many definitions, and has used a broad transcription of the International Phonetic Alphabet to indicate pronunciation.

The 24,000 items include 'automation' and 'cybernetics', poultry 'batteries' and 'walkie-talkie'. Not only does the selection of items show an attempt to be up-to-date, but a consciousness of the world-wide use of English is reflected in the presence for example on adjoining pages of 'luge', 'lycee', and 'machan'.

Unfortunately certain modern innovations are short-lived and the lexicographer, giving as one definition of the word 'corgi' 'small motor bicycle, as shown', is saddled with a definition and an illustration of a vehicle no longer in use.

Selection is the essence of the dictionary-maker's problem. One might justify the single definition of 'lighter' as a 'flat-bottomed boat' ('cigarette lighter' being subsumed under 'to light'), but the inclusion, without comment as to its currency, of a word like 'froward' in the same breath as 'frigidaire' and 'frogman' is less than useful.

In addition to omitting indications of archaic forms, Dr West continues to support the fiction that Englishmen do not use vulgar language or talk about the less public parts of the body. More importantly, he gives no indication of parts of speech or form classes, let alone guidance in the patterning of nouns and verbs such as may be offered by traditional oppositions like count/mass, transitive/intransitive.

TEACHING FASTER READING: A MANUAL. Edward Fry.

Cambridge University Press. 1963. xii+143 pp. 8s. 6d.

READING FASTER: A DRILL BOOK. Edward Fry.

Cambridge University Press. 1963.
xi+67 pp. 3s. 9d.

These two books have been out for more than two years, so they can be reviewed with some knowledge of their actual usefulness to teachers and pupils. Of their usefulness there can now be no question. They have caused very many readers—native readers of English and readers of English as a foreign or second language—to read very much faster and with greater comprehension.

The manual is a little masterpiece of exposition. It is written clearly, simply, and persuasively. It covers the more important kinds of reading—skimming, the rapid reading of texts of about average difficulty, and the intensive reading of texts demanding careful study—and goes quite fully into the relevant theoretical and practical considerations. It does all this in a small compass, even with chapter summaries, without ever seeming over-concise or too dense in texture. A clear understanding of reading processes undoubtedly makes for better writing.

Dr Fry wrote both these books after considerable teaching and research experience in the U.S.A. and Africa. Consequently the manual suggests teaching techniques for the improvement of reading that are valid both for native speakers of English and for readers of English as a second or foreign language. Both types of reader can benefit. Your reviewer has just returned from the Sudan, where some teachers of English have tried out Dr Fry's methods and materials (and also materials of their own selection but using Dr Fry's methods) in secondary school and university classes. They report striking improvements in speed together with gains in comprehension. Your reviewer, a native speaker of English, has worked through the drill book. A reasonably fast reader, he did not improve his speed—about 650 words per minute—but his score for comprehension

went up from 90 per cent to 100 per cent after the first three passages, and stayed there.

The drill passages are, in fact, modified from their originals to conform with a two-thousand-word vocabulary—the few extra words are listed, so that they can be taught before the passages are read—and elaborate sentence structures have been simplified. The manual does advise teachers on the handling of passages of their own selection, but by no means all teachers will be able to select or create passages—still less formulate good comprehension tests—as skilfully as has been done for the drill book. Consequently one must hope that Dr Fry and other experts in this field will write more drill books at various levels of difficulty.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of work in this field. So much university education is wasted, and so many students fail to do justice to their abilities, simply because teachers of English fail to provide the straightforward training in reading skills that Dr Fry recommends. All too often one sees 'reading lessons' which are virtually useless periods of bad reading aloud round the class. Dr Fry's manual shows us very clearly how reading can be treated in class in exciting and purposeful ways that will cultivate reading skills of the highest value to students in their academic and personal lives.

A GUIDE TO CORRECT ENGLISH. L. A. Hill. *O.U.P.* 1965.
x+390 pp. 11s. 6d.

Mr Hill, one of our most prolific textbook writers today, provides here a source book of remedial work for the practical teacher. He has analysed a great number of errors made by intermediate and advanced learners of English. These have been sorted (Parts of Speech, Content Vocabulary, Syntax, etc.) and presented in alphabetical order.

Each entry consists of one or more errors and one or more substitution

tables which practise the point correctly, where necessary explanations are added.

This seems to be a useful addition to the teacher's bookshelf. Not only does it give an indication of what errors are commonly made, it provides a tailor-made piece of remedial work or prompts the teacher to continue with his own substitution tables of a similar kind. I can imagine a harassed teacher who has to say 'Ali, you have missed out the definite article again', rejoicing in being able to continue . . . 'Take this book and from the table on page 214, write me ten good sentences.' I can imagine an even greater rejoicing, however, if the book had been given an index.

It would seem that the value of *A Guide to Correct English* will be somewhat variable, as the corpus of errors has been drawn up from a limited range of language backgrounds; Indonesia, Iran, and India. Nevertheless, there will be few teachers of intermediate and advanced learners who can have no need of it.

THE STRUCTURE OF TECHNICAL ENGLISH.

A. J. Herbert. *Longmans*. 1965. xii+208 pp. 10s. 6d.

A misleading title for a very useful book. For 'Technical' read 'Engineering'; for 'The Structure of' read 'Practice in'.

Mr Herbert's aim is to give foreign learners already in command of everyday English an understanding of the uses of scientific English—and that of engineering in particular. Each section of the book concerns itself with an engineering topic which is written up in a passage embodying an area of vocabulary and illustrating a selection of structural patterns. The substitution table is very profitably employed both in exercises on Word Study and in Pattern Practice.

Interestingly, transformation grammar is discernible not far beneath

the surface of the structural explanations and often the relationships between informal and scientific language are neatly demonstrated.

Exercise material is plentiful, but whilst the structures expounded are common to scientific writing in other disciplines, the topics—of some necessity—are limited to a somewhat narrow field.

ENGLISH FOR OVERSEAS

STUDENTS. Edited by J. Purkis.

University Tutorial Press. 1965.

Book I. English from Zero.

M. Daniels. viii+330 pp. 12s. 6d.

Book II. More English. A. L. Sprules. viii+206 pp. 8s. 6d.

This is an adult course with a strong language laboratory content, markedly reflecting the British tradition of modern-language teaching. Despite the editor's claim that it 'uses the Direct Method', a notable feature of the course is the setting out of paradigms, and expositions in traditional terms.

Word frequency is clearly not high on the editor's list of priorities (Lesson 9, Book I includes *bud*, *calendar*, *bodice*, and *salty*), nor is structural frequency (witness 'it will be being sold' and 'it would be being sold if . . .' in Book II). Indeed, there can be few courses which move so rapidly—Book II moves from elementary material to within striking distance of the Cambridge Lower Certificate in English.

The laboratory exercises are marked in the books by a black line (but where are the tapes?). They include material which can be called drill, but the degree to which this is without context may be seen from an exercise in Lesson 8, where the learner—in ten responses—impersonates Mary, children, John, Peter and John, students, Betty, and Peter.

Perhaps the least happy aspect of the course is the standard of its illustrations.

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